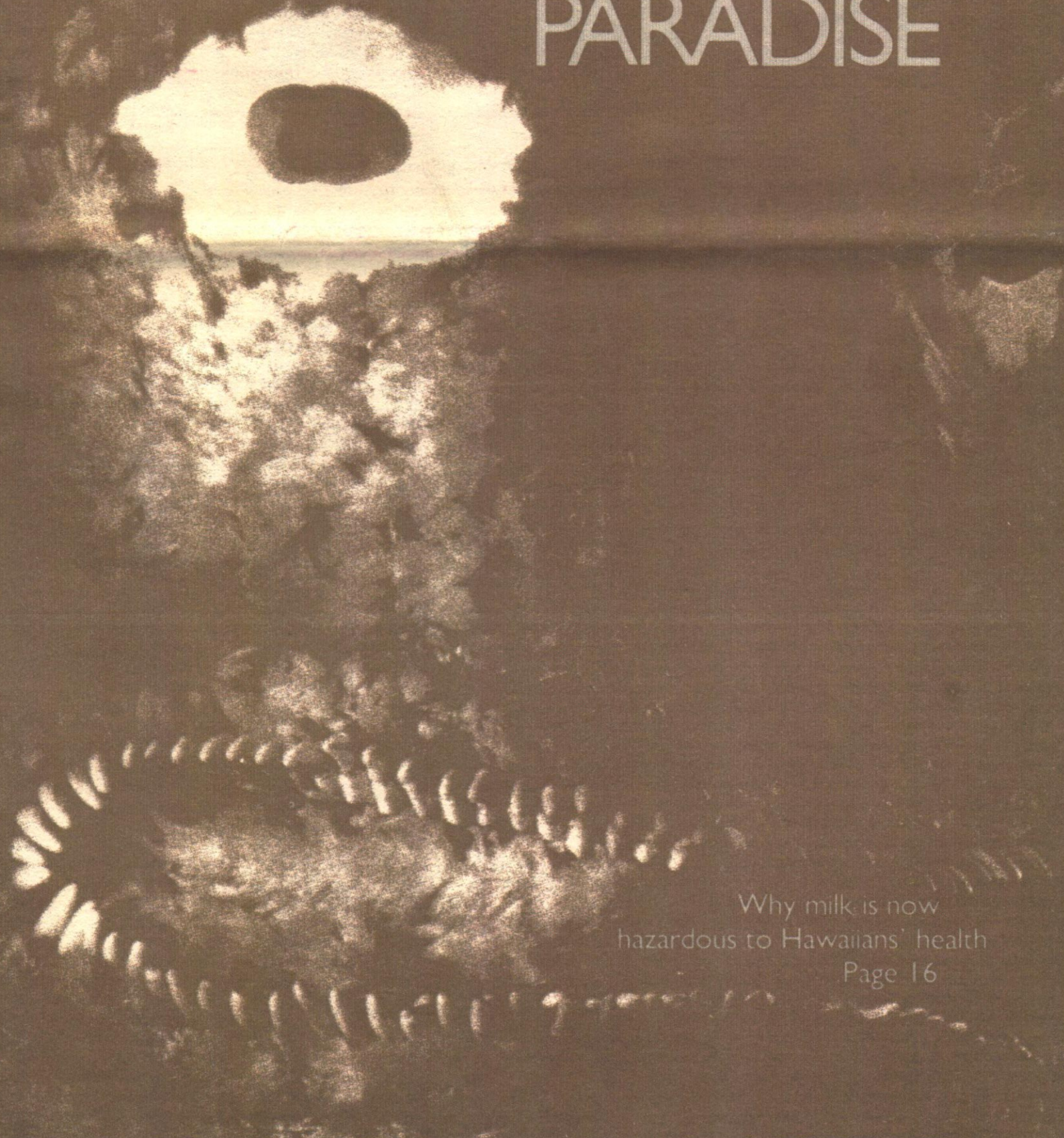


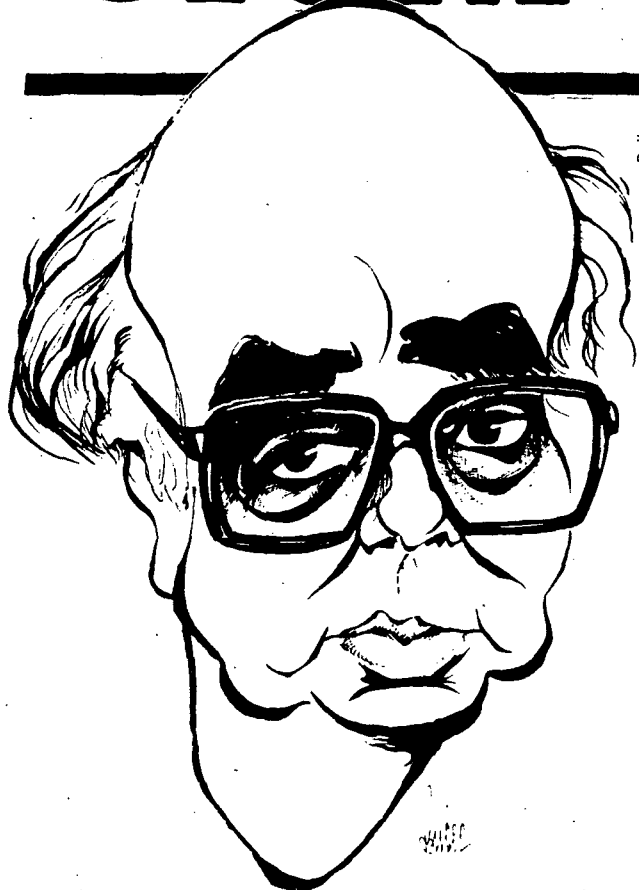
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THE INSIDE STORY



Paul Volcker, president of the Federal Reserve Bank

Why all eyes are on the Fed

By Thomas Brom

SAN FRANCISCO

Not even halfway through his term in office, President Reagan has proven he knows how to subsidize the wealthy, cut social programs and engineer a recession. Reaganomics works all too well, reducing inflation at a cost of thousands of bankruptcies and 10 million unemployed. What the president—and the congressional incumbents who support him—are still searching for, however, is a blanket big enough to hide under in November. They need a scapegoat for the recession, and his name is Paul Volcker, president of the Federal Reserve Bank.

"The Republicans are stuck with a political problem not an economic one," says economist David Shulman at UCLA. "Reagan is getting exactly what he wants from the Fed—extremely tight money that is wringing inflation out of the economy. But if he sticks with his policies, the whole country could go in the tank."

The administration's position is that the economic recovery is being held up by artificially high interest rates—kept high by week-to-week swings in the nation's money supply. And Volcker is the problem. In late June, Treasury Department undersecretary for monetary affairs Beryl Sprinkel announced that a number of "options" are now under study to limit the independence of the Fed. "The president," he complained, "should have the right to put in place the kinds of policies he was elected for."

But a day later Treasury Secretary Donald Regan backed off, saying, "At this time, I think the Fed's independence is a good thing." The administration let it be known, however, that it is thinking of returning the Fed to the limited role it was given by Congress in 1913 when the treasury secretary sat on the Fed board of governors.

The trouble with all this is that no one at the Fed believes the administration is serious. "There's no real threat to the Fed from this administration," says Randall Pozdena, economist for the Federal Reserve Bank in San Francisco. "It's mostly sabre-rattling to influence the 1983 money targets set by the Bank in July." The second problem with the Treasury's jaw-boning is that many bankers no longer believe in the monetarist theory which advances that short-term variations in money supply affect interest rates. "I remain skepti-

cal," says economist Frank McCormick of the Bank of America. "The Fed's independence," he adds, "is greatly exaggerated. It is usually very responsive to administration desires."

If Volcker is a convenient excuse for the Republicans, he is an even bigger target for the Democrats, who are presently without an economic policy.

Democrats such as Edward Kennedy in the Senate and Henry Reuss in the House are blaming the Fed for preventing the economic recovery. Both Kennedy and supply-sider Republican Jack Kemp have seized on the October 1979 switch in Fed policy—from trying to control interest rates to trying to control money supply—as the root of all evil.

During the Carter administration, of course, the Democrats had what Kennedy and others want. The Fed tried to control the interest rates and permitted far greater amounts of currency into the financial system. The result was a higher level of economic activity and employment, but at the cost of double-digit inflation and soaring interest rates that reached 21 percent. More importantly, blaming the Fed also promises that the source of the nation's economic problems is to be found in monetary policy—not in controlling deficit spending or the flight of industrial capital abroad.

"The Democrats in Washington are a disaster," says Shulman. "They want a depression to run against in November, and they may get one."

San Jose State economist Doug Dowd charges the Democratic Party leadership with "callous irresponsibility," thinking only of regaining congressional seats in November. "Ups and downs in the short-term money supply don't mean a thing," he says. "The real problem is that this economy has no reason to recover. The financial system is out of control, the government is running an enormous deficit and capital spending continues to decline."

Mock battles over the Fed hardly come as a surprise during an election year. "Congress likes an independent whipping boy," comments UCLA's Shulman. "The same goes for the administration. The Fed is an anti-democratic institution by design." But this year criticism of the Bank produced an unexpected dividend for the left. In a fascinating counterpoint to the political wars going on around them, Fed branch presidents defended their actions by saying they didn't really control the money supply at all.

Just as Budget Director David Stockman's "Trojan Horse" interview in the *Atlantic Monthly* stripped the veil from supply-side economics, the Fed controversy is teaching the nation that monetarist economics is like catching fog in a bottle. "There's a lot less to the monetarist philosophy than people think," says Pozdena. "The Fed can't really count the money supply, and even if it could, it can't control it."

That message came through loud and clear in a speech delivered by Frank Morris, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, at a recent economics conference. Morris pointed to the vagueness of existing monetary categories; the speed of computer-age transactions from one category to another and the internationalization of finance capital as factors undermining the Fed's intentions. "I have concluded most reluctantly," he said, "that we can no longer measure the money supply with any precision. The consequences are obviously far-reaching."

If the Federal Reserve Bank can no longer keep track of U.S. currency aggregates in the global economy, what value is monetary policy? Shulman insists that

money supplies still have relevance, even though the linkage between week-to-week figures and the economy is loose. "By clamping down hard enough, the administration can still get where it wants to go. Tight money destroys industry," he says. But according to Shulman, the most important questions involve the budget—who gets what in the economy—and how large a deficit the government carries each year. Investment bankers like Henry Kaufman of Salomon Brothers have been saying the same thing for the past two years. Refusing to attack the Fed, Kaufman says "the real issue is not being discussed. That is the efficacy of the monetarist approach. That will have to be addressed eventually."

Monetarism, then, acts like a smokescreen, hiding the key political decisions behind a cloud of weekly statistics. "As economic theory, it doesn't really matter whether it's true or not," adds Dowd. "It serves a purpose, like laissez faire, and it's not likely to go away."

The mystery of sustained high interest rates is a case study in the way monetarism mystifies real economic relations. Economic textbooks say that interest rates should follow the decline in the rate of inflation as the "expectations" of future inflation falls. Yet in the past year inflation has declined to 6.5 percent, while short-term interest remains at 16.5 percent. That 10 percent spread is called the "real" rate of interest, and it's now at its highest level in 50 years.

Monetarists like Milton Friedman insist that the rate remains high because of weekly swings in the money supply. But far less abstract reasons are recognized by most bankers and business economists. The demand for short-term business loans—at rates above 20 percent—is still extraordinarily high, even though the level of new investment is very low. Concludes conservative economist Irving Kristol, "Businesses are scrambling for credit regardless of cost in a desperate struggle for survival." (For the week ending June 11, there were 532 U.S. business failures, a 70.5 percent increase over the comparable week in 1981 and the highest single week's total since the Depression.)

"A lot of banks are still making loans because they aren't willing to pull the plug," comments Larry Kimball, director of the Business Forecasting Project. "They may want to cut off credit, but they can't."

There are also solid profits to be made when the real interest rate on borrowed money is 10 percent. Although bankers complain about risk and covering the losses on older low-interest loans, the top 25 banks ended 1981 with an average 8 percent increase in profits, about the same as 1980. Their 14.6 percent average return on equity capital was buoyed by two years of wild corporate mergers, pushing short-term corporate debt to more than half a trillion dollars.

"Of course it's significant that the real rate of interest is so high," says Dowd. "Over the past 20 years, interest as a percent of national income has gone up, and corporate profits have gone down. There is a power shift in this country from the industrial sector to the financial sector, but you'd never know it by listening to Milton Friedman."

Nevertheless, back in Washington all eyes are on the Fed. Democrats and Republicans alike excoriate Bank policy, while Paul Volcker reacts like the sphinx and the Reagan administration pushes through a 1983 budget carrying a deficit somewhere over \$100 billion. The whole process reminds Dowd of comedian Jimmy Durante's response as he's caught stealing an elephant from a circus tent, the lead rope still in his hand. "What elephant?" Durante asks.

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IN THESE TIMES

Democrats point toward '84



Sen. Gary Hart speaks at a workshop—“Issues of the ‘80s”—that he organized. It was the main platform for “neo-liberalism” at the conference.

By John Judis

PHILADELPHIA

“THIS CONFERENCE IS A methadone treatment center for political reporters,” remarked pollster Peter D. Hart. “It’s not the real thing, but it’s the best they’ll get until the real thing comes along in 1984.”

Hart was referring to the third Democratic Midterm Conference held June 25-27 in Philadelphia. The 1974 and 1978 conventions were political brawls that pitted the party’s left and right against each other. But at the urging of AFL-CIO leaders and other party leaders, political debate at this year’s event was limited to workshops. The 2,000 delegates, who were appointed by state party heads rather than elected by the local faithful, were renamed “participants,” and the convention itself was called a “conference” to remove any hint of decision-making.

But in spite of the lack of formal dissection and grassroots representation, the party’s conference did reflect some important trends in the party. At the workshops and seminars held on defense and economic policy, it became apparent that many Democrats are not only thinking about how to pillory the Republicans in 1982, but also about what they will do if they return to power in 1984.

Terms like “planning”—banished from the Democratic vocabulary in 1946—are now being bandied about again. Questions left unanswered by the Carter-Kennedy primary clash of 1980—how can the party unite Frostbelt and Sunbelt—are being earnestly addressed.

Freeze debate.

Probably the most controversial issue aired at the conference was the nuclear freeze proposal, introduced in the Senate last spring by Senators Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.). It calls for the U.S. and the Soviet Union to sign a mutually verifiable freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons. While the major presidential hopefuls except Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio) have backed the freeze, party regulars are by no means united behind it.

Cold warriors in the AFL-CIO have backed the “arms reduction” proposal of Senators Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) and

John Warner (R-Va.), which assumes that a “freeze” would benefit the Soviet Union.

Several months ago, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) would have conspired to keep the freeze off the convention floor, but the tremendous support for it and concern over the Reagan administration’s arms policies convinced Democratic leaders that it could be a rallying point in 1982 and even in 1984.

The party document, introduced for debate at a standing-room-only Saturday morning workshop on defense and foreign policy, tried to encompass both positions, declaring the “Democratic Party welcomes the national movement to control nuclear weapons and prevent their use, including the national nuclear weapons freeze campaign,” while endorsing a “major, mutual, balanced and verifiable reductions of nuclear forces.”

The panel discussion at the workshop included both freeze partisans like Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass.) and reduction proponents like author Ben Wattenberg. Wattenberg’s appearance at the confer-

ence was significant in itself. A fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a neo-conservative colleague of Jeane Kirkpatrick and Norman Podhoretz, he had hailed Reagan’s 1980 election as the beginning of a new party realignment. His appearance in Philadelphia and his reiteration of the phrase “We Democrats” indicated that the rats have discovered that the ship is not about to sink.

In his speech, Wattenberg said that the defense document showed that “we Democrats are cordially agreeing to cordially disagree.” But the full ambiguity of the document did not become apparent until an obstreperous participant from Vermont, a veteran of antinuclear town meetings, moved that the document be amended to say that the Democratic Party “supports” rather than merely “welcomes” the freeze movement.

In past conventions, such amendments would have signaled the initiation of hostilities. But Wattenberg, speaking for the Cold War faction, announced that he was perfectly happy with the amendment because the document did not “specifi-

cally endorse the freeze” but only the movement as an expression of popular concern about nuclear weapons.

However, the resulting document and general debate over defense and foreign policy did reflect considerable Democratic disenchantment with the Reagan administration’s rate of military spending and its opposition to arms control. For instance, the ratification of SALT II—formerly opposed by such notables as Sen. Glenn—is now a consensus position within the party.

Atari Democrats.

Few of the conference participants had any use for the Reagan administration’s economic politics. There was broad agreement that the third year of the Reagan tax cut should either be capped, deferred or eliminated, and that the saving in revenues be used to finance public works jobs programs. The workshop on the economy adopted a proposal that would limit the tax savings from the third year of the tax cut to \$700—the amount saved by a family with an income of \$40,000.

But beyond opposition to Reagan, there was little agreement on how to proceed. While the old division in the party between Southern Democrat budget balancers and Hubert Humphrey-style free spenders no longer exists, it has been replaced by a new division between Democrats like Sen. Ernest Hollings (D-S.C.) and Rep. James Jones (D-Okla.) (who call for “fiscal responsibility” and back the Federal Reserve’s tight money policies) and liberal Democrats like Kennedy and Mondale (who call for easy money and increased jobs spending but also advocate measures like wage-price controls or a tax-based incomes policy to prevent easy money from being translated into renewed inflation). For Kennedy and other Democrats, the call for formal price and wage restraints represents an attempt to adjust New Deal liberalism to the straitened circumstances of the current American economy.

Another point of contention was the notion of “post-industrial society.” Among many labor Democrats, whose base is in the industrial Northeast and Midwest, it conjures up images of empty Northern factories, long unemployment lines and unorganized electronic parts assemblers or keypunch operators. But United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser said at the workshop on the econ-

Continued on page 8

The Party responds to shift among women voters

The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) lived in Philadelphia: Former Vice-President Walter Mondale got his loudest cheers when he declared that the amendment was not dead and Sen. Edward Kennedy devoted the first seven paragraphs of his speech to it.

The candidates were not simply expressing their convictions. They were responding to a dramatic shift among women voters into the Democratic column—a shift caused partly by Democratic identification with the ERA, and partly by Democratic identification as the party of peace.

Pollster Patrick Caddell, speaking at a conference seminar, said women are now 10 to 15 percent more likely to vote Democratic than men are. “The Democratic Party is becoming the Democratic Women’s Party,” Caddell remarked.

In a recent *New York Times*/CBS survey of 18-to-24-year-old voters, women favored the Democrats over the

Republicans by 33 to 21 percent, while men favored the Republicans by 31 to 24 percent.

Pollsters and political consultants at the conference also noted that if abortion and the equal rights amendment are salient issues in the 1982 campaign, they will favor pro-choice and pro-ERA candidates. With the defeat of the ERA and the specter of a constitutional amendment banning abortion, pro-choice and pro-ERA voters are now more likely than their opposites to vote on the basis of these issues alone.

A foretaste of this backlash to the backlash has come in Illinois, where previously popular Gov. James Thompson trails colorless challenger former Sen. Adlai Stevenson in opinion polls. Women voters, angered at Thompson’s choice of anti-ERA House member George Ryan as his running mate as lieutenant governor, have thrown their support to Stevenson.

—J.J.

IN SHORT

The FBI clamps down

No more fooling around. The FBI is finally going to get tough with "terrorists." According to FBI director William Webster, 1976 guidelines covering domestic spying were too restrictive, so the government—on the basis of Executive Order 12333 signed by President Reagan on Dec. 4—is revising the guidelines to allow the FBI to infiltrate and influence domestic organizations. Speaking to the Senate subcommittee on security and terrorism, Webster assured staunch conservative Sen. John East (R-N.C.) that he "will be pretty much pleased" by the revisions.

Citing possible targets of the new guidelines, subcommittee head Sen. Jeremiah Denton (R-Al.) included the National Lawyer's Guild because it is an organization that "seeks to exploit the law in order to bring about revolutionary change," the Socialist Workers Party, the Progressive Labor Party, the Weather Underground and the May 19th Communist Organization because these groups "favor the overthrow of the government of the U.S. by force and violence." But Denton's subcommittee expressed little concern over right-wing groups like the Omega 7 and the Ku Klux Klan that are notorious for their violent acts.

Thirty-six religious, political and educational organizations recently filed a suit in U.S. District Court in Washington that challenges the executive order. Along with allowing FBI manipulation and infiltration of domestic groups, it also allows for the first time CIA covert operations in the U.S.

Chicago putsch foiled

A truckload of Nazis, all decked out in black shirts and red swastika armbands, was stopped cold in its attempt to disrupt Chicago's annual Gay Pride rally. Amid a flurry of criticism, the city had granted both the Gay Pride committee and the publicity-craving local branch of the Nazi Party permits to march in lakefront Lincoln Park on June 27. Many feared that the gay and lesbian community's plans for a festive Sunday of solidarity, speeches and dancing would end in ugly scuffles as the Nazis sought media attention with a parkside putsch.

But when arriving in the park, the Nazis met an angry crowd of almost 2,000 anti-Nazi protesters, led by local labor, left, Jewish, black and gay groups. Chanting "Chicago is a gay town, Nazis must not stay; Chicago is a union town, Nazis must not stay....," the anti-Nazi crowd penned the 20 or so black shirts in a parking lot behind a line of mounted police. A few eggs and insults were hurled, but slogan shouting and fist waving were more popular means of expressing outrage. The Nazis, many of whom looked as though the ink on their high school diplomas wasn't yet dry, unfurled several American flags and a banner with a biblical quote saying homosexuals should be put to death.

After staring into the hostile crowd for about an hour, the Nazis elected to leave the park before the gay pride parade of more than 10,000 arrived. As their flatbed truck fled down Lake Shore Drive, several of the police on hand started clapping and many of the protesters made their way to a victory party at a nearby punk bar, where the afternoon's events would be reviewed on video.

The empire strikes back

While there may not be a big push in Japan to beef-up the military coffers, many Japanese—mostly teenagers—can't wait to throw billions of yen into the national film industry's increasingly profitable military blockbusters. Last year, the big moneymaker was *Rengo Kantai* (The Great Fleet), a highly idealized, star-studded recreation of the Japanese Imperial Navy battling its way from Pearl Harbor to Midway. And in August Toho Studios will commemorate its 50th anniversary by releasing its most expensive and highly promoted film of the year, *Dai Nihon Teikoku* (The Imperial Japanese Empire), yet another World War II extravaganza. According to psychologist Hiroshi Milami, these films are "pieces of nostalgia to the middle-aged, while today's youth, who haven't yet developed the habit of reading books, rely on them for their history."

They shoot intruders, don't they?

In Delaware, "shoot first, ask questions later" is more than a cliché—it is the law. Last month, Gov. Pierre du Pont IV signed a bill allowing Delaware residents the freedom to kill or maim armed intruders. Calling the bill a "self-protection law," chief sponsor Rep. Robert Riddagh explained, "We just made it very plain that you can use as much force as you think is necessary." Previously, Delaware law required an occupant to prove in court that excessive force was not used to stop an intruder. According to Riddagh, the previous law left "the defense attorney with an out. Who's to determine how much force was needed? It was a very confusing law."

Now the confusion is cleared up: The occupant is always right.
—Nina Berman and Jay Walljasper



Above, Nicole Questiaux, former French minister of national solidarity; below, Francois Mitterrand

One star falls, the other rises

PARIS—Some minor shifts in the French cabinet probably signal a major shift in Socialist policy at the end of Francois Mitterrand's first year as president.

The resignation of Nicole Questiaux as minister of national solidarity amounts to a decisive rejection of the attempt to move toward socialism by extending the welfare state. In the early days of the left government, Questiaux was in the forefront with measures to increase family allocations and promises to improve other welfare benefits. Her star faded as it became clear France was not going to attain the 3 percent growth rate initially projected by Socialist leaders.

When planning minister Michel Rocard recently said that France had a "social protection system beyond its means," Questiaux contradicted this and insisted that system should and could be improved. Her point of view was that financing could always be worked out in the wake of reforms and that the resulting redistribution of income was a step toward socialism.

Her measures for retirement at age 60 were criticized by other government members for failing to provide for adequate pension financing and she was accused of being too easily influenced by the General Confederation of Labor (CGT).

Her job has been taken over by Pierre Berégovoy, up to now Mitterrand's chief of staff at the Elysee Palace, who has the reputation of being a sharp politician and a negotiator. With the less sentimental title of Minister of Social Affairs (and National Solidarity), he will have to negotiate a less generous program with labor and management representatives.

If expanding welfare is out as a motor of development, what is indicated by the promotion of Questiaux's colleague Jean-Pierre Chevenement. Already minister of research and technology, Chevenement was given industry as well, becoming what the press has called "superminister" of a "superministry."

Ironically, Chevenement is the

leader of the same Socialist Party Questiaux belongs to—the left faction called CERES (Center for Socialist Study, Research and Education). But he stands for a different policy—a policy of using technological advance and control of the nationalized industries as the motor for a coordinated economic development. In this, the Japanese model is studied with interest. Now that the nationalizations have been completed, the time has come for an industrial policy to use them to spur development, and Chevenement's is being given this opportunity.

The nomination confirms Chevenement as the government's rising star, the leading candidate to succeed Pierre Mauroy as prime minister—and even Mitterrand himself one day. Last year, Mitterrand gave a ministry to just about everybody of any consequence in the Socialist Party. Some have risen and others have fallen. Chevenement passed the first year test looking like one of the most successful.

In a government that was not exactly scintillating with brilliant innovations, his national colloquium on research and technology stood out as an unusually daring idea. The colloquium was praised by labor for involving employees in discussion of general orientations, and at the same time went a long way toward overcoming prejudices against Chevenement as a wild radical among research mandarins, technocrats and executives.

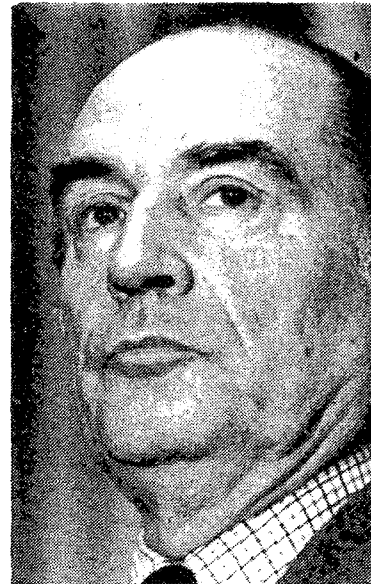
It is easy to see in Chevenement's recent statements in favor of "rigor," in his interviews postponing socialism to some later "historical period," the classic evolution of leaders of "left wings" of Socialist parties once they get into office. It is true that his rallying to rigor leaves his party's left militants disarmed, wavering between disillusion and the consolation of their relationship with a man whose future prospects are so brilliant.

Yet Chevenement's gamble on technology depends on the quality of the technology that is outside the control of even the most energetic minister. A big question mark concerns relations with Europe. The patriotic Chevenement—like Mitterrand—harbors an ancestral wariness of

Germans: How can France meet the technological challenge from the U.S. without greater cooperation with Germany?

Chevenement also faces a more personal political problem. A French Jacobin through and through, a young but rather old-fashioned patriot and moralist who believes in the role of the state, enlightenment and progress, Chevenement must also consider the reality of ambition and rivalry that characterizes the Socialist Party. As heir apparent, he is likely to find his past strewn with booby traps.

—Diana Johnstone



Fair Share shifts gears

MEDFORD, MA—Massachusetts Fair Share, which with 100,000 members and an almost \$2 million annual budget makes it the largest of the nation's statewide citizen action organizations, took a bold step at its recent convention at Tufts University when it decided to enter the world of electoral politics.

The 200 elected delegates approved Fair Share's involvement in voter education and registration campaigns and ballot referenda, but stopped short—for now—of direct candidate endorsements.

Fair Share, which began in the immediate post-Watergate period, had steered clear of direct involvement in election campaigns. Its philosophy, adopted from the late Saul Alinsky, has been straightforward: Organize

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

people around immediate common problems; embarrass elected officials through careful research, clever media manipulation and direct action protest; raise consciousness about broader problems by linking issues and focusing campaigns on corporate rip-offs and government favoritism for the rich. Deeply imbedded in the Alinsky tradition is avoiding the taint of politics and ideology.

Fair Share learned Alinsky's lessons well. It has won many legislative and administrative victories—from fixing potholes and abandoned buildings to tax reform and utility rates—and has been rewarded with a growing membership and public credibility. Banks, utility and insurance companies, absentee landlords, corporate tax delinquents, chemical firms that dump toxic wastes and footloose multinational companies that close plants and destroy neighborhoods have all earned the wrath of Fair Share's activists.

Over the years, Fair Share's members have dealt with many politicians and bureaucrats—lobbying for legislation, demonstrating and protesting and holding public "accountability sessions" with officials. It has pressured, and then praised, politicians when they promote Fair Share's issues—but has turned against them if they back down on their promises or don't help Fair Share on the next issue.

Last year, for example, Fair Share and conservative Gov. Edward King held a virtual love-in press conference at the State House when King announced his support for Fair Share's bill to stop utility companies automatically passing on fuel increases to consumers. But this election year, when King reneged on his promise to help stop a \$46 million Boston Gas Co. rate hike request before the State Department of Public Utilities (DPU), Fair Share followed him around at public events with noisy protests.

But Fair Share has never directly tried to "dump" any politician. Most Fair Share activists vote and know the names of their elected representatives. But when some of Fair Share's top staff members and leaders began last winter to discuss the possibility of the organization entering the electoral arena—particularly after seeing the devastating impact of Reaganomics on its members and (through VISTA cutbacks) on the organization itself—it sparked an intense debate within the organization. Although everyone within Fair Share viewed the debate itself as a healthy form of political education, it was unclear whether the members would approve the electoral strategy at the Tufts convention.

Fair Share's predominantly blue-collar, innercity members have seen first-hand the power of business interests in city halls and state houses. From these experiences, they harbor a deep distrust of elected officials. Throughout the weekend conference, they told stories of being burned by two-faced politicians.

"They tell you one thing at a candidates' night and do another thing in the city council or the legislature," said Evelyn Hannigan, a Fair Share leader from

Boston's Hyde Park neighborhood, who initially got organized by a Fair Share campaign against a proposed shopping center.

For Rich Pilotte of Fall River, Fair Share's strength is its single-minded devotion to issues, not politicians. "The standards we set for ourselves are higher than any politician's. We can give people the knowledge they need to make the right choice. But I can't think of any candidate—except Charlie (Gargiulo, a Fair Share leader who intends to run for Lowell City Council)—that we should endorse. They'll whore themselves for anything. Our name is worth a helluva lot more than that."

Even Gargiulo—a charismatic 30-year-old Army vet who grew up on welfare and now works for an antipoverty agency—feels that Fair Share isn't ready to begin endorsing and working for candidates, including himself. Like many Fair Share activists, he fears that it may divide the organization.

And Marge Power, a dynamic leader of Fair Share's recent campaign against Boston Gas, observed that "We're known as the watchdog of politicians. If we start endorsing them, we'll lose that. Even in this room, we're for different candidates for governor."

In fact, at the Sunday plenary, five candidates for this fall's gubernatorial race showed up to win Fair Share members' support, but none of them earned much solid enthusiasm. Neither did the missing candidate—Gov. King. From the hour-long question-and-answer session with the candidates—and the assortment of applause and hisses—it was clear that any organizational endorsement would seriously split the organization.

As a first step, those attending Fair Share's convention voted to conduct extensive voter education and registration drives this summer and to work to make the state's voter registration laws less restrictive. They also voted to hold candidates' nights and to publicize candidates' voting records and positions on critical Fair Share issues. Several chapters will be experimenting with ballot referenda to test its ability to mobilize voters.

The convention mandated that the organization study the idea of endorsing and "deselecting" candidates. But even many members and staffers may not realize the dramatic implications of its recent decision. A well-orchestrated voter registration and education campaign by a mass membership group like Fair Share, with its intensely loyal following, can have a much bigger impact than the paper endorsement of a small group like the Americans for Democratic Action.

The membership clearly did not want to jump into electoral politics as quickly as the staff members wanted—a sign that the organization is not as "staff dominated" as many critics claim. Yet most top Fair Share leaders believe that within a year, it will be forming a PAC and working directly to defeat their enemies and elect their friends to key city council and state legislative races throughout Massachusetts.

—Peter Drier

Briefing: What tax cut?

On July 1, the second stage of the Reagan administration's individual tax cuts went into effect—a 10 percent reduction in marginal tax cuts. These tax cuts are supposed to stimulate the economy—whether by increasing consumer spending or increasing the incentive to work and invest—but when they are placed in the context of the entire Reagan program, they turn out not to be tax cuts at all.

To offset both the tax cuts and the increases in military spending, the Reagan administration proposed and secured adoption of large cuts in grants-in-aid to both states and cities. New federal tax-exempt investment opportunities have diminished the appeal of state and local bonds. And state and local conformity to the reduction in corporate taxes has cut many state and local revenues. As a result, states and cities have had to raise both taxes and user fees in order to maintain services.

When these state and local tax increases are combined with the increases in social security taxes and tax increases from inflation and "bracket-creep," lower- and middle-income taxpayers will have to suffer a *tax increase* in 1982. The only taxpayers exempted from the increases are those with incomes over \$100,000.

The Public Employee Department of the AFL-CIO has recently released a study of the Reagan tax cut that documents these tax increases. Leaving aside local taxes, the AFL-CIO study found the same pattern in the nine states it surveyed: tax increases except for the most wealthy citizens. Here are two examples:



Increases in social security taxes will, at the very least, balance Reagan's income tax cuts.

Florida				
Income \$	Reagan Tax Cut	Bracket Creep and Social Security Tax Increases	State Tax Increases	Net Tax Increase or Decrease
5,000	0	28	44	+ \$72
10,000	52	154	48	+ \$150
20,000	228	336	77	+ \$185
30,000	405	576	102	+ \$273
50,000	1,000	1,383	155	+ \$538
100,000	2,846	2,673	187	+ \$14
200,000 and over	22,091	4,067	374	− \$17,650

Nebraska				
Income \$	Reagan Tax Cut	Bracket Creep and Social Security Tax Increases	State Tax Increases	Net Tax Increase or Decrease
5,000	0	28	23	+ \$51
10,000	52	154	25	+ \$127
20,000	228	336	41	+ \$149
30,000	405	576	53	+ \$224
50,000	1,000	1,383	82	+ \$465
100,000	2,846	2,673	127	− \$46
200,000 and over	22,091	4,067	254	− \$17,770

The AFL-CIO study then addressed the net effect of the tax cuts and increases on families of four with \$25,000 income in different cities. In the nine cities it studied, it found increases from \$213 to \$598. Here are two examples:

Tacoma, Wash.	
Reagan tax cut	− \$305
Add-Back	
1. Bracket Creep/Social Security	+ \$444
2. State tax increases	+ \$178
3. Local tax/User fee increases	+ \$114
Net tax increases	+ \$431

Milwaukee, Wisc.	
Reagan tax cut	− \$305
Add-Back	
1. Bracket Creep/Social Security	+ \$444
2. State tax increases	+ \$154
3. Local tax/User fee increases	+ \$305
Net tax increase	+ \$598

—John Judis

IN THE NATION



CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY

Labor coalition challenges Litton

By Charles Sugnet

MINNEAPOLIS

LITTON INDUSTRIES HAS a short but juicy history, one that a group of labor organizers are hoping will make it the J.P. Stevens of the '80s. Charles "Tex" Thornton and Roy Ash bought a small electronics firm from Charles V. Litton after Howard Hughes dismissed these two top managers in 1953, when Hughes Aircraft was caught "misappropriating" \$43 million that belonged to the Air Force.

The two made Litton Industries into the first of the glamorous "conglomerates" of the '60s. Proving that corporations are in business to make money rather than to provide products and services, Litton grew by buying other unrelated companies—textbooks, cash registers, navy ships, twist drills, helicopter transmissions. Litton became famous for the jazzy graphics of its annual reports, and for its stock prices, which rose from an original 10 cents to \$150.

Litton's brand of "systems analysis" could be applied to almost anything. After the 1967 military takeover of Greece, Litton secured a contract with the junta for the economic development of Crete and the western Peloponnese. "Development" turned out to mean doing publicity for the junta and promoting townhouses, German breweries, luxury hotels and other tourist amenities.

At home, Litton contracted with the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity to run the Parks Job Corps Center in Plea-

santon, Calif. Litton did an excellent job of placing Parks graduates—except that the number one employer turned out to be the U.S. military. Job corps trainees, mostly poor and black, were being funneled off to the Vietnam war under the guise of career training. And someone opened a closet at Parks to find over \$300,000 worth of books Litton's textbook companies had sold to the Job Corps. Some of the books covered subjects like the theory of relativity and how the stock market works—just the kind of thing ghetto kids need to help them with basic learning skills.

Through all this eclectic activity there was one constant thread—whenever possible do business with governments, especially with the military. This was partly for the obvious reason that in government contracting, the markups are higher and the risks lower. But Litton had also pioneered what has become a basic corporate principle: Get the government to pay for research and capital investment through defense contracts, then market the spinoffs in the civilian marketplace. As Roy Ash put it, since "almost all new products have their first application in military uses, we always want at least 25 percent of our business in defense and space."

Litton appeared to score a brilliant success in defense contracting in the late '60s. It convinced the job-hungry state of Mississippi to float a \$130 million bond issue and build Litton a new shipyard for its Ingalls Shipbuilding facility at Pascagoula, Miss. (Litton threatened to move its operation to Tampa unless the state built a new, up-to-date yard.)

The new yard, equipped for modular

ship construction and "weapons system" design approach, was awarded \$3 billion in contracts to build nine Landing Helicopter Assault (LHA) ships and numerous destroyers for both the U.S. Navy and the Shah of Iran. With Roy Ash moving over to head Nixon's new Office of Management and Budget, Litton seemed to be in a great position.

But the fancy, untried modular techniques proved slower and more costly than anticipated, and Litton ended up producing five ships for the price of nine.

Litton had to repay \$7 million to the Navy after Ingalls employees testified that they had been told to punch in on the Navy job and then spend the day working on Litton's nearby commercial shipbuilding projects. Another dispute arose when Litton billed the Navy for its losses on civilian shipbuilding, claiming that the civilian ships had been built to "debug" the new shipyard for defense work, and that the Navy was therefore liable. Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.), who had worked at the Defense Department under Robert McNamara, wrote two scathing articles for *The Nation* in 1972 and 1973.

Litton stock tumbled, and the company lost money for the first time. Litton claims of \$400 to \$450 million cost overruns on the LHA contract were settled in 1978 by a public agreement that fixed Litton's losses at \$200 million. The Securities and Exchange Commission criticized Litton for improperly concealing from its stockholders information about anticipated shipbuilding losses. And Litton was indicted for fraud in connection with its cost overrun claims on the Navy.

As recently as last January, Admiral Hyman Rickover, testifying before the

Now community groups are also joining the multi-union campaign.

Joint Economic Committee of Congress, singled out Litton as one of the worst defense contractors, noting that the Justice Department has so far taken no action to try the Litton fraud case.

If Litton liked working for the government, one thing it did not like was labor unions. The company boasted that only 30 percent of its big labor force (75,000 workers) was unionized, and those only because they were organized before Litton bought out their companies.

Between 1963 and 1981 Litton was charged with violating labor law in 43 complaints issued by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). (A single complaint, on a charge such as "restraint," "coercion" and "refusal to bargain," may cite several instances.) The charging unions included the whole spectrum of American labor—Machinists, Teamsters, United Auto Workers, UFCW Clerks, Trades Council (AFL-CIO), American Federation of Teachers, Electrical (both UE and IUE) Workers and even an independent organization of document analysts. Claims were filed from New York to California. In 24 of the 43 cases, NLRB proceedings confirmed that violations had occurred. Twelve others were settled, with Litton agreeing to remedies, before the NLRB reached a final judgment.

The charges provide clues to the tone of labor relations at Litton. Teachers at the Parks Job Corps camp charged that they were illegally denied the use of a room for after-work meetings, and that the company fired union officers for "disloyalty." Litton microwave oven workers at Sioux Falls, S.D., charge that Litton uses "plantation tactics" such as posting mandatory overtime for union officers whenever a union meeting is scheduled and denying pregnant workers trips to the bathroom. Teamsters at Litton's Landis Tool plant in Pennsylvania charged that Litton refused to bargain with them even though they were the certified bargaining agent, and the NLRB upheld their charge. In a 1981 settlement at the Triad-Utrad division plant in Huntington, Ind., Litton agreed to pay back pay for dismissed union leaders, and to post a list of 19 "We will not's,"

Continued on page 22



Richard Trumka (left) is challenging UMW president Sam Church, who has fought back with red-baiting.

MINE WORKERS

Election campaign takes off

By David Moberg

BECKLEY, W. VA.

IT WAS NEARLY AS DARK OUTSIDE as it had been deep down in the lattice-work of tunnels in the coal as the miners, their belts heavily laden with the tools and safety devices of their calling, streamed into the Eccles Mine bathhouse from the evening shift. Each miner intently headed for his basket of clothes, suspended by a chain high above the rows of benches and prepared to wash off once again the daily accumulation of coal dust before hurrying home, taking out just enough time for practical jokes and horseplay on the way to the shower.

But on the way into the bathhouse this evening, they met a young man in a blue shirt and dark pants, his hair and mustache neatly trimmed, who was eager to pump each coal-grimy hand and ask them for support. He was Richard Trumka, 32, a coal miner and union lawyer, who is the primary challenger to incumbent Sam Church Jr., president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW). Nominations were just getting underway last month for the November election, but Trumka and Church, 45, have already made the traditional "bathhouse tour" of many coalfields in an already heated contest.

The area around Beckley in southern West Virginia was supposed to be Church territory, but despite district officials' support, the members were mainly leaning to Trumka—or away from Church.

I asked Jerry Lee Miller, a 31-year-old miner with eight years of experience, who he supported in the campaign. "It ain't Sam Church, that's for sure," replied Miller, who is part of the near-majority of working miners who entered the mines during the boom of the past decade. "He gave away more than we got in the last contract. We've got to have some changes or it's the end for coal miners."

A loud, curly-haired young miner stomped over to Trumka and demanded for all to hear, "Are you going to come down here with some lousy contract and shove it down our throat? We don't need nobody like that." Trumka insisted he wouldn't.

"Okay, buddy, you got me," his questioner answered. "I know one thing. You don't have to be much to be better than what we've got."

Coal miners are worried and angry. They see the proportion of non-union

coal production increasing, and their overwhelming rejection of the first contract that Church negotiated last year reflected their fears that many of the changes in union security clauses that Church accepted would undermine their union even more. They are also concerned that the coal boom has faded, especially in areas like Beckley where most of the mines yield metallurgical coal, which is not in demand when the steel industry is operating at slightly more than 40 percent of capacity.

Church, who became president in November 1979 when Arnold Miller retired due to ill health, still is rebuked by many miners for his role in the 1981 negotiations and by some who blame him as well for the losses of the union health and welfare fund in the 1977-78 strike. Although Trumka was not widely known, after only a couple of weeks of nominations, Trumka led Church in local union nominations by a two-to-one margin. Church even lost in home locals to some of his running mates. Church is doing well in his home district of Virginia and in eastern Kentucky but not in most of the UMW heartland.

At this point Trumka is mainly sailing on the strength of the anti-Church sentiment. "I don't know much about this bunch," Oscar Purdue, a 22-year-veteran of the mines, said in Eccles, "but anybody would be better than Church." In the coming months, Trumka's task will be making himself better known and projecting a clearer image of what he would do differently as president.

Church says he will run a "positive campaign" emphasizing experience and defending the contract as the best possible. "The contract is looking better and better all the time," he told *In These Times*. "While other unions are taking concessions, cutbacks, our people just received 65 cents an hour increase." But many of his supporters—and some maintain the Church campaign itself—have already emphasized a low-blow campaign centered on red-baiting.

In addition to the mixed value of his incumbency, Church should have money, some of which will pay for the services of the public relations firm of Matt Reese, which normally works for liberal Democrats. In one controversial \$200 per person fundraiser, Church received an estimated \$200,000, much of it from people outside the UMW. Those include other international union officials and individuals associated with the largely UMW-owned National Bank of Wash-

ington. The bank has been plagued with charges of mismanagement, including approving a loan to a man who donated \$10,000 to Church's 1977 campaign for vice-president.

Trumka and his candidates for vice-president, Cecil Roberts, vice-president of District 17 in West Virginia, and John Banovic, president of District 12 in Illinois, were leaders in opposition to the first contract Church negotiated in 1981 and are running on a platform of "no more steps backward, no more takeaway contracts." They argue that the union may lose more ground if Church is president for the next five years, pointing in particular to his agreement in the current contract to discuss setting up company-by-company pensions instead of the industry-wide pension that is the basis of security for retired miners, whose companies may disappear when a mine is depleted.

But much of the campaign, billed as "Why Not the Best?" emphasizes the credentials of the slate—especially Trumka—as well-educated and capable of both taking on coal company negotiators and providing a classy image for the mine workers.

Trumka, a third-generation coal miner from western Pennsylvania, studied accounting at Penn State, then worked his way through Villanova law school by mining coal. "I didn't go to law school to be a lawyer," he repeats frequently. "I went to law school to be a UMW lawyer." From 1974 to 1977 he was precisely that but left "because I became disgruntled with what was going on." He returned for 10 months in 1979-80 but otherwise worked in the mines of western Pennsylvania until he ran last year against Walter Suba, one of Church's right-hand men and a member of the bargaining committee, and won by a lopsided margin of roughly 12-to-1.

Trumka claims he can be a better negotiator by planning carefully, instead of reacting to coal companies of which he accuses Church. He wants to strengthen the union security clauses (restricting the subleasing provisions that increasingly create problems for the union, for example), restore the health fund and minimize the differences in payments between the two union pension funds. He thinks he can win these gains despite the union's declining production share by "using the rank-and-file to negotiate at the bargaining table," making the companies aware of miners' unity and determination.

To have bargaining strength, the UMW needs to organize. Roberts, 35, a fifth-generation miner whose uncle and grandmother were major UMW figures, envisions organizing as the task of all members, not just paid staff. "There is a place for everyone, a mission for everyone," he says. "Everyone has got to get out there and sell union." But that also requires a good contract and appealing leadership, Roberts argues.

Although Trumka wants the union more involved in meeting social needs of members and retirees, he does not campaign for any dramatic change in political direction of the union. He criticizes Church for failing to press UMW positions, such as the union's convention resolution in favor of imposing duties on imports to compensate for substandard wages in competing countries. Likewise he faults Church for not pushing harder for greater use of coal and for government support of such environmentally and economically questionable projects as synfuels.

Church increasingly tries to portray Trumka as an inexperienced upstart with little mining experience who is really a lawyer, not a coal miner like other members. But the image issue is complex. Although many miners are skeptical about lawyers and have a "tribal" attitude about themselves, they are also an increasingly diverse lot, many of whom have gone to college. Church is at times an embarrassment to some of them, as he chews tobacco in public and delivers uninspired speeches.

"Sam Church is the sorriest turkey that ever walked on two legs," middle-aged Buddy Trail of Local 5770 said as he cleaned up after work. "I'd vote for anybody against him, but I want a man with some pretty good education. We've had enough dummies in there."

Church's supporters have fought back with a whispering campaign of insinuations that Trumka and Roberts are linked with communists. Unsigned mimeo leaflets with a series of questions to ask Trumka—such as, "have you ever at-

Continued on page 10

There's Rarely A Moment's Peace

Life can be frustrating at times. There are world problems, work problems, and personal problems. And despite your best efforts things don't always work out as you had hoped. Occasionally you need some quiet time to think and reflect on the meaning of life. And the meaning of your life.

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Midterm

Continued from page 3

omy that "we have to reject the notion that we are entering a post-industrial society."

Other Democrats, however, particularly those from western states, insist that the party must directly align itself with the expanding high-technology and service economy. For example, one of the more interesting seminars, held by the Lexington Group, an organization of young Democratic entrepreneurs, featured in a panel discussion Foothill Group investment consultant Don Gervitz, Lehman Bros partner and former Carter Treasury official Roger Altman and Joel Kotkin, the co-author of *California, Inc.*

Gervitz and Kotkin argued that the future of the party depended upon its ability to relate to the high-tech entrepreneurs. Kotkin said that if the party continues to identify itself with the "low-tech" old line industries, "it will go the way of the pre-Civil War Whig Party. But both Gervitz and Kotkin acknowledged that the opposition to labor among high-tech entrepreneurs and the possibility of massive unemployment posed significant problems for the labor-identified Democratic Party. "As we go through the transition from pre- to post-industrial society, we have to figure out what we are going to do with the people thrown out of work," Gervitz said.

A type of synthesis was outlined by Altman and seconded by Gary Hart, Chief Economic Advisor Bob Hamrand, who has worked closely with Gervitz. Altman called for a two-stage approach to economic problems, with the first stage consisting of a "responsible fiscal policy" and a "tripartite approach" between government, business and labor to restrain wages and prices that would permit the Federal Reserve to lower interest

rates. The second stage would consist of what Hart aide Hamrand called a "micro-industrial policy" that would foster the new post-industrial economy by funding education, research and development.

The panelists admitted that their tripartite approach and micro-industrial policy amounted to government economic planning, a term that makes most entrepreneurs and corporate executives cringe. But Altman insisted planning could be sold if it were expressed correctly. "I think if you talk about targeting and multi-year tax programs, you never hear disagreement," Altman said. "The word 'planning' has an unfavorable connotation, but most people agree with it."

The debate between the more traditional labor Democrats and the politicians and investment bankers who have been dubbed the "Atari Democrats" will not be settled in the near future. Indeed, it will only begin to be resolved if the Democrats capture the White House in 1984.

Presidential hopefuls.

All the current contenders for the nomination in 1984, except former Florida governor Reuben Askew, attended and spoke at the conference. Kennedy, Mondale, Hart, Glenn and Sen. Alan Cranston each had large informational booths at the convention's exhibition hall and held cocktail parties and receptions for the press and the participants. In their speeches, they each made a valiant effort

to outdo the others—condemning the unfairness and recklessness of the Reagan administration and promising to remain true to their vision of Democratic principles.

For those allergic to political clichés, Hart was the only respite. On the conference's first day, he organized his own seminar on how to make ideas relevant to the 1982 campaign and invited James Fallows, the author of *National Defense*, energy expert Daniel Yergin, Robert Reich, the co-author of *Minding America's Business*, and Machinist Union economist Leslie Ellen Nulty to make presentations. The Hart information booth also offered passersby an unusual collection of position papers on the economy, the military and the environment.

Hart's emerging position as a national candidate blends together Fallow's critique of military spending, which questions the means but not necessarily the ends of current strategy, Reich's and Lester Thurow's economics, which stress government intervention to aid "sunrise" industries and the "tripartite approach" to the economy favored by Altman, Felix Rohatyn and AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland. At his seminar, Hart defended a tax-based incomes policy, which would reward firms for restraining prices and wages, as a means of preventing a new inflationary spiral while increasing the money supply.

But Hart, Glenn and Cranston are way behind Kennedy and Mondale in both or-

ganization and money. Neither Glenn nor Hart has even set up political action committees. The "Friends of Gary Hart" currently has \$15,000 in the bank, while Mondale's and Kennedy's PACs will spend nearly \$1 million not only financing their candidates' travels, but also contributing to the campaigns of House Democrats.

The 1972 and 1976 campaigns showed that an "outsider" can overcome the frontrunners, but on the strength of superior and early organization rather than simply better ideas and slogans. In this regard, Kennedy and Mondale have little to worry about from their challengers.

But Democratic insiders are worried about the party in 1984, when an outsider could stand a much better chance of beating Reagan. Chappaquiddick and a close identification with Frostbelt liberalism hang over Kennedy, while Mondale's record as a campaigner—based on his withdrawal from the 1976 race—makes him suspect.

Patrick Caddell, the Carter administration's chief pollster, cautioned the Democrats gathered in Philadelphia that while they could expect a victory in 1982, they should not believe they have 1984 in their pocket. "You can look at politics as a tennis match," Caddell said. "1980 was advantage GOP. After 1982, it will not go back to advantage Democrats, but to deuce. In 1984, both parties will again have the chance of reshaping American politics for the long term."

Party endorses Israel's war aims

Democrats who are doves on American intervention abroad and military spending often become "hawks" when the actions of the Israeli government are considered. At the Midterm Conference, the Democrats unanimously backed a resolution that endorsed Israel's war aims in Lebanon.

The resolution was introduced by Mark Siegel, who resigned as the Carter administration's liaison with American Jews because he believed Carter was too anti-Israel and who later helped organize the Kennedy-for-President draft. Siegel's resolution was explained and seconded in the foreign policy workshop by erstwhile doves Rep. Toby Moffett (D-Conn.) and Rep. Michael Barnes (D-Md.).

Moffett, a Lebanese-American, is running for Senate in Connecticut and has had difficulty winning over Jewish

voters, who have continued to back incumbent Republican Lowell Weicker. Barnes is facing Jewish opponent Marian Greenblatt in a difficult reelection campaign in heavily Jewish Montgomery County.

When Rep. Mary Rose Oaker (D-Ohio) complained that Siegel's resolution ignored the civilian deaths caused by the Israeli invasion, the workshop's chair, Sen. Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.) offered a "friendly amendment" declaring the Democrats' "regret" at the deaths on all sides.

—J.J.

In the largest such outpouring in history, over a million people converged on New York City June 12 for the U.N. Second Special Session on Disarmament. What next? What's a natural follow-up for the June 12th demonstration? How are we going to maintain this momentum and provide an ongoing organization for thousands of people to channel their concern and commitment? What was not possible for the last two decades is possible now. This coming together of grassroots organizations and activists must continue beyond one event and one issue at a time. We must not allow the media to define our issues and needs. There is an urgent need to forge a permanent, national network uniting activists from different progressive movements and speaking with one voice to a variety of issues and problems that confront the American people, so as to create a true people's movement. The crisis is deeper than ever before, and the cutting edge will be activating more people than ever.

For the weekend of July 30—August 1, the Federation has called a national conference in New York City. Objectives of the conference are to:

- plan a fall campaign on Jobs with Peace & Equality, with all groups participating in a week of activities (tentatively October 16-23);
- deepen the dialogue among activists from different movements and unify the various progressive movements into a multi-issue federation;
- build a national network among grassroots organizations;
- work out an outline of a people's program.

There will be a lot of opportunities to meet organizers from many diverse movements working together in the fight for jobs, peace and equality. Panels will focus on **The Economy: Anti-Reaganism and Beyond; Disarmament and Human Needs; and What to Do in the 80's: Federation for Progress.** Grassroots activists will lead workshops on all the important issues. (If your organization wants to lead or facilitate a workshop let us know.)

Since the initial call letter signed by 19 prominent political activists was distributed in February, the response has been overwhelming. Newly-formed Federation chapters and affiliates have already organized 10,000 people from 70 organizations in Los Angeles to protest Reagan's visit; mobilized a demonstration of 1,500 from five southern states at the Savannah River bomb plant in South Carolina on May 30; co-sponsored African Liberation Day at the United Nations on May 22, charging "Reaganism is Black Genocide," and initiated a "Dump Helms" campaign in North Carolina.

A natural follow-up to June 12: a national conference July 30-August 1 at Columbia Univ. in New York City

SPEAKERS: Julian Bond, Frances Hubbard, Arthur Kinoy, Philip Berrigan, Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trias, Kitty Tucker, Michio Kaku, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, Rev. William Jones, & Dr. George Wald

PLACE: Columbia University Broadway and 116th St. New York, N.Y. 10027

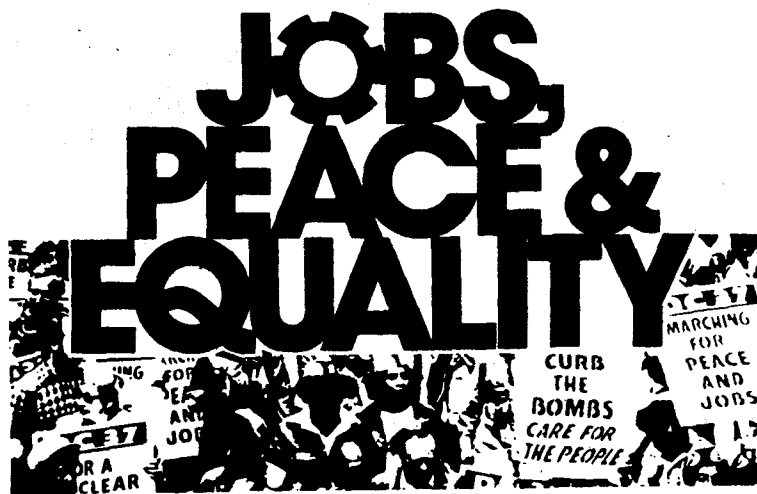
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Interim Executive Committee: Judy Chu, professor Asian-American Studies, Los Angeles; Michio Kaku, nuclear physicist; Frances Hubbard, teacher of community health and social medicine, City Univ. of N.Y.; Dr. Arjun Makhijani, nuclear disarmament activist; Manning Marable, professor of political economy; Musheer Robinson, Exec. Dir., Black and Latin Workers Health & Safety Resource Center, Newark, N.J.; Tony To, Federation for Progress National Staff; Kitty Tucker, Non-Nuclear World, Supporters of Sikkim.



Partial List of Endorsers: Anne Braden, Southern civil rights and peace activist; Brett Bursey, Grassroots Organizing Workshop, Columbia, S.C.; Ben Chavis, activist; Noam Chomsky, Mollie Coyne, Workers' Clinic, San Francisco; Ronald Delums, Rep. US Congress; Bernard Demczuk, Legis. Rep. D.C.; Am. Fed. of Gov't Emp. (AFL-CIO); Peter Fisher, Coordinator Trade Unions for Democratic Action; Donald Freed, author; Richard Hatcher, Mayor of Gary, Indiana; Nelson Johnson, Organizing Committee of Coalition Against Black Genocide; Florence Kennedy, attorney; Yuri Kochiyama, Asian-American Caucus for Disarmament; William Kunstler, attorney; Winona La Duke, Anishinabe Nation—White Earth Reservation; Sidney Lens, author; Don Luce, Southeast Asia Resource Center; Jim McNamara, Those United to Fight Fascism, Columbus, Ohio; Elizabeth McKisler, activist; Russell Means, American Indian Movement; Rafael Miranda, Arthur Mitchell, Parren Mitchell, Rep. US Congress; Graham Nash, musician; Michael Parenti, author; Samuel Paz, Pres. of Board of Dr. So Cal ACLU; Wilson Riles, Jr., Oakland City Council; Dean Dillard Robinson, Trinity Cathedral (Episcopal); Diane Romero, SAMRAF; Elaine Schmidt, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Pete Seeger, musician; Dan Sheehan, Christic Institute, Washington, D.C.; Benjamin Spock, author; Brenda Suroso, UCLA Fed. for Progress; Bai Wahpepah, International Indian Treaty Council; Leonard Weinglass, attorney; Frank Wilkinson, Exec. Dir. Emeritus, National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; Marnie Williams, Pastor, Calvary United Methodist Church.

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IN THE WORLD

ISRAEL

Peace movement leader speaks out against Begin

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

"ALL ISRAEL'S FRIENDS should understand that there is now a very clear contradiction between the interests of the Israeli people and the Israeli government," a prominent spokesman for the Israeli peace movement, Haim Baram, said in an interview here June 22. "If you really want to help the Israeli people, you have to oppose the Israeli government."

Baram, a leader of the Israeli council for Israel-Palestine Peace and unsuccessful Sheli (peace) party candidate to the Knesset, said that Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defense Minister Ariel Sharon have "committed a crime against the Lebanese people, against the Palestinian people and, above all, against the Israeli people. They have jeopardized our future in the Middle East."

Like Sheli leaders Uri Avnery and Matti Peled, Baram visited Paris shortly after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon for talks with French Socialist Party leaders, government officials and moderate Palestinians with whom they have developed contacts over the past seven years.

"We see this war as an attempt by the Israeli government to destroy the moderate wing of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)," Baram said. "I think Sharon and Begin have a strong interest in seeing political leadership of the PLO transferred to extremists. That will help them depict Palestinians as people who don't want to coexist with Israel and thus postpone a political solution to the Palestinian problem indefinitely."

The antiwar Israeli leaders' visit to Paris may well have contributed to French President Francois Mitterrand's proposal to the United Nations for the neutralization of Beirut, supported by all UN members except Israel and the U.S., which vetoed it in the Security Council. Considering what Baram called Mitterrand's "pro-Jewish and pro-Israeli sentimentality" left over from World War II, the French proposal was intended to serve long-range Israeli interests by saving the PLO moderates. Paris had reportedly received assurances of PLO recognition of Israel, perhaps to be announced by PLO leader Yasir Arafat in Paris in return for recognition of the PLO by several European governments.

However, the victorious faction in the Reagan administration, represented by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger (who has vast financial interests in Saudi Arabia), is probably even much less willing to let Europeans into the peacemaking process. Blocking all European peace initiatives is necessary for the Reagan administration to keep full control of any concessions to be offered in an eventual "tilt" toward the Arabs. But meanwhile the U.S. has appeared to the world to be responsible for openly backing, if not actually instigating, the Israeli aggression.

Sharon visited Washington just before the invasion and got the green light from Haig and Reagan to drive the Palestinian and Syrian forces out of Lebanon. The war and its objectives had been described nine months earlier by Uri Av-

nerly in his magazine *Haolam Haze*. The PLO had kept the July 1981 cease fire so well that Sharon was hard put to find a pretext to launch his operations. Then the Israeli ambassador to London, Shlomo Argov, was shot in the head. This was used as a pretext for massive bombing of Lebanon. In response, Palestinian artillery fired a few rounds at Galilee. This, in turn, served as pretext for the massive invasion of Lebanon.

But British police and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher announced that the attempt on the life of Israeli ambassador Argov was committed by the Abu Nidal group, which alternates its attacks on Jews with attacks on the PLO. Abu Nidal is an enemy of the PLO, which has passed a death sentence against him.



Labor unions demonstrate in Paris against Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Baram described Nidal as a "lunatic assassin" who has "served a lot of intelligence services"—the Iraqi and Syrian for sure, and, according to widely rumored but unsubstantiated charges, the Israeli Mossad and the CIA. "The London assassination attempt was timed in such a way that the suspicion of some Israeli hand in it is not completely far-fetched," Baram said.

What is certain is that Nidal "is a great supporter of the Refusalist Front, meaning he does not want any dealings with Israel whatsoever," said Baram. "This concurs with Begin and Sharon's interests because the Israeli government wants the PLO and the Palestinians to be controlled by people who don't want to talk to Israel, not by people who do."

Baram suggested that Israeli policy toward Lebanon was in line with "an old Ben Gurion doctrine" that can be summed up as "whatever is bad for the Arabs is good for the Jews." This means "Israel has to collaborate with every non-Arab element in the region—the Turks, the Iranians, the Druze, the Kurds, Christians in Lebanon, blacks in the Sudan.... Israel has attempted to use internal conflict in the Middle East as long as it harms the Arabs. This is the logic behind Israeli arms deliveries to Iran in the Iraqi-Iranian war, even under Khomeini."

Baram said that since Sharon became defense minister in June 1981, it was clear that he and Chief of Staff Rafael Eytan "wanted a good war on their record," especially Eytan, who was afraid he might have to retire "without having a major war to orchestrate."

According to Baram, Sharon and Eytan see the Palestinian people through the sights of their guns. "They are both crude unsophisticated men, very similar to the kind of South African secret police commanders you'll find among the Afrikaans speaking people. They have a similar lack of sensitivity to world opinion, a complete disregard for human life. In their extreme simplicity, these people always thought it was possible to defeat the PLO by military means and to manipulate the political arena in such a way that Israel will come to no harm. And I must say they haven't been proved as wrong as I expected. I expected more unanimous international condemnation."

Baram found that the initial reactions of American public opinion, as expressed by the media, the Jewish community and the Congress, were surprisingly indulgent.

In contrast, he stressed that there has been an unprecedented reaction against the war in Israel itself. And in Europe, the general public is much more shocked and appalled by the Israeli invasion than the government reactions would indicate. The Germans in particular "are always circumspect in their reaction to Israeli atrocities because of their unclean past vis-a-vis the Jews," said Baram, and Begin is an expert at manipulating guilt.

What with American complicity, and

Israel possesses "a vast amount of nuclear arms."

Baram said that "perhaps the most important thing" for American readers to try to understand is that "as far as the Israeli public is concerned, international relations mean only one thing: the relationship between Israel and the U.S. They don't give a damn what people outside think."

Since an international catastrophe could start in the Middle East, "if the U.S. was entrusted in more responsible hands than Reagan and Haig, I think they would have done something to neutralize this area from its venom." The best solution would be an American-Soviet joint initiative, he stressed.

"In August 1977, Jimmy Carter and the Soviets had actually agreed on a joint initiative, and this was unfortunately prevented from materializing by Sadat's initiative. When Sadat went to Jerusalem, he actually broke the possibility of a joint American-Soviet initiative. This was one of the important indirect results of his initiative. It was also one of the reasons. Sadat did not want the Soviets involved in any of the Middle East peace moves."

Begin has been given an international license to go berserk, he said.

muted reactions elsewhere, Begin and Sharon have been given "an international license to go berserk," said Baram.

Baram said that Europeans and Americans should realize that "people like Sharon are not Western politicians in your sense. They are much more similar to Latin American dictators in their general outlook, their treatment of human rights, the way they put ideological considerations ahead of the fair play of democratic process. I think people in the West are deluding themselves that people like Sharon are going to stick to the general principles of democracy. There is no democracy today in the areas Israel occupies. And I think this lack of regard for human rights in the territories will eventually be brought into Israel itself."

Although the peace movement has been able to operate freely up to now, "people like myself [may] find themselves refugees one day," he said.

Israel's "real" patriots.

Israel's real patriots, said Baram, are trying to stop Sharon and the others from "shedding blood and bringing havoc to the area without any chance of creating harmony. And if you don't create harmony, in the end there will be mass destruction. The Arabs and Israelis together are capable of bringing about international catastrophe," especially since

Baram said that he thought in the long run that this was not good for the area, even though "Sadat is perhaps the greatest leader the Middle East has ever had. He was the first Arab leader who knew how to manipulate the Israelis rather than vice versa."

Although he said he had always advocated nonalignment and resistance to superpower politics, Baram said, "in this particular case I would have welcomed arm-twisting policies from the big power, because most of the people running things in the area are irresponsible."

Baram said it is "hard to explain to the people of Israel after such a military success that one day we shall pay a very heavy price for it. But the Germans also succeeded in 1938, 1939 and 1940. If you analyze the fate of the German people, you cannot escape the conclusion that the terrible tragedies that happened to them in 1945—when Germany was virtually destroyed, when many people died, when there was starvation and humiliation and the country was divided—were a direct result not only of Hitler's general policies but also of his initial success. Nothing succeeds like success, and nothing perhaps fails you like success, especially when you succeed in the first steps you take in the wrong direction. I think this success may be, God forbid, our undoing."

Miners

Continued from page 7

tended a communist meeting?"—were on bulletin boards at the Mullens mine, and Church supporters duplicated the Trumka campaign stickers faithfully but replaced the American flag with a red flag with black hammer and sickle.

Trumka's endorsement by Lee Roy Patterson, who ran second to Arnold Miller in the last election, may help quiet the charges since Patterson is identified with some conservative forces within the union. But despite the denials he makes—showing his Catholic medals to skeptics or citing Roberts' service in Vietnam—such red-baiting can create doubts even when totally unsubstantiated.

Some observers think that the red scare tactic, used in most UMW elections, no longer carries much weight, but Church will not repudiate it entirely. "I have nothing to do with it," he said. "I have not authored or dispensed any literature of that nature. He's got a problem because his running mate has always been a... a lot of time you judge a man by the company he keeps."

Trumka intends to hammer away on Church's "outside contributions," suggesting he is beholden to non-miners. In addition to financial support from United Food and Commercial Workers president William Wynn and 27 other UFCW



officials and from Seafarers' president Frank Drozak, AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland sent Church a message of support. Also, Rep. John Murtha (D-Pa.) contributed \$1,000 to Church, apparently from a campaign fund that included donations from both unionized and non-union coal companies.

Representatives from the AFL-CIO and the UFCW both denied that the contributions to Church represented any opposition to Trumka, but Trumka supporters believe his outspoken opposition to concessions may have alienated other labor leaders. Kirkland, a spokesman said, admired Church's cooperation on legislative issues and his willingness to defend an unpopular contract before

members. Wynn, who was recently appointed to the board of the National Bank, reportedly supported Church as a friend and a former member of the UFCW. "We weren't trying to make a judgment on the race other than we know Sam Church," Vice-President William Olwell said. Some officials also saw a need for "stability" in the UMW. It was ironic that the support was offered precisely at a time when the AFL-CIO was before the Supreme Court as a friendly supporter of the Steelworkers' rules prohibiting outside financial contributions.

"I've been in this business a long time," Church said in his defense. "For [Trumka] to tell me he's going to raise a

quarter of a million dollars from the membership is hogwash." Trumka, who says his campaign is nearly halfway to its goal, calls Church's comments "an insult to our members" and insists he will not seek outside money nor promise any jobs to supporters.

Church, whose top officers chose not to run and is on a slate with two executive board members, Frank Clements and Martin Connors, will have the money and professional campaign assistance to appeal to members who are not so dissatisfied with recent contracts or his leadership and may either fear the Trumka slate as "too radical" or reject them as less experienced or not really coal miners. But Trumka can appeal to the obviously deep-seated opposition to Church's leadership in the last contract, the troubles in the industry and union, and to the desire for forceful, intelligent leadership. "Rich and Cecil know what they're talking about," Roy Proffitt, a miner for 17 years, said. "That's what's been wrong with the UMW for years: We've got the body but not the head."

Despite his action on various fronts—leading an early labor demonstration against cuts in black lung benefits by Reagan, bringing the UMW into Solidarity Day, joining antinuclear power rallies, Church ultimately is burdened with miners' memories of the last contract talks and 78-day strike. And many feel like one older miner, who said as he came up to Trumka's car, "Church is like Reagan. I'd do 10 years in the penitentiary before I'd vote for either of them."

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(PE 1280-ITT 7/82)

EL SALVADOR



In late May, the army set in motion its new juggernaut composed of the three top battalions.

Fighting in guerrilla areas escalates to highest level yet

By John Dinges

SAN SALVADOR

YOU WON'T GET ANY small-talk, light-at-the-end-of-the-tunnel statements out of me," the political observer said, answering the unstated question in the minds of the journalists discussing the crisis in El Salvador with him. He supported the war and U.S. policy here. His partners in the informal session may have varied from journalistic skepticism to private support for the opposition. But none saw much reason for optimism—that is, expectation that current political and military developments in El Salvador are moving in the direction of some ultimate solution here along the lines laid out by the Reagan administration.

As world attention slowly shifts back to El Salvador, the fighting in guerrilla-held areas has escalated to the largest operations in the course of the war. For the first time, the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front forces scored a clear-cut victory in a battlefield engagement involving at least two army companies. Meanwhile, small-scale guerrilla operations have virtually paralyzed traffic between San Salvador and the northern and eastern parts of the country.

The government set up after the March 28 elections, called a "government of national unity," has pursued an often dilatory style of government by consensus among right and center parties whose internal differences are nearly as polarized as those between the government and the leftist coalition fighting the war.

The government-Constituent Assembly complex's most decisive action in its two months existence was a decree that threw the land reform process into confusion here and sent the U.S. Congress into an uproar, resulting in the greatest threat to date of a cutoff of U.S. aid. In the hope of repairing that damage to the Reagan administration's dual espousal of reform cum counter-insurgency aid,

politicians here and the U.S. Embassy are scrambling to assemble a positive visage to present to Congress on July 28, the date the administration must certify progress in El Salvador as a condition for continued aid.

It wasn't supposed to work this way. The scenario laid out six months ago by U.S. planners was decidedly more upbeat. Earlier in the year, the campaigning and elections were to have shown a skeptical world that democracy had broken out in previously military dominated El Salvador and that the Democratic Revolutionary Front-FMLN Coalition was not only the enemy of the democracy, but decidedly unpopular.

Meanwhile, 1,500 Salvadoran troops and officers were being whipped into crack counter-insurgency fighters at U.S. army bases and another elite unit was being trained by U.S. advisors inside El Salvador.

After the elections, the scenario went, an internationally legitimized, popularly supported government would proceed to consolidate reforms, and in May or June a U.S.-trained unit would be thrown into action to deal the *coup de grace* against the discredited guerrillas. Implicit in this scenario was the anticipation that military victories against the left would reduce the war to a sputtering brushfire by late 1982.

Part of the plan was fulfilled. The elections produced a massive turnout. Even if one accepts unconfirmed charges that the vote total was inflated, the impression remains of a mass outpouring of Salvadorans going to the polls to vote in hopes that the fighting would somehow be over.

Indeed, for two months—April and most of May—guerrilla activity was in a lull, and the government launched no large offensive, holding off for the arrival of the graduates of U.S. training.

In the last week of May, the army set in motion its new juggernaut composed of the three top battalions: Atlacatl, the battle scarred veterans trained by the first U.S. advisors in 1981; Antona, the

battalion trained this year in El Salvador; Ramon Beloso, the 1,000 men trained at Ft. Bragg, N.C. earlier this year.

The three units, with other supporting troops for a total force of about 4,000 men, swept into guerrilla territory in northern Chalatenango province on a 10-day operation intended as a warm-up. There was much press fanfare but little real contact in the field as the Chalatenango guerrillas—predominantly members of Commander Cayetano Carpio's Popular Liberation Front—followed the traditional guerrilla tactics of avoiding direct frontal engagement.

The government claimed that 135 "subversives" were killed and no prisoners taken. An army commander, Lt. Col. Domingo Monterrosa, chief of Atlacatl, acknowledged as the operation ended that the dead included women and children.

Meanwhile, on June 5, FMLN forces had launched what appeared to be a diversionary action in a northeastern province of Morazan to take pressure off the Chalatenango attack. Forces there mostly of the ERP (People's Revolutionary Army) overran the northern villages of San Fernando and Perquin.

Military observers who acknowledged the Salvadoran operation described the ensuing action, which over the next four weeks evolved into the largest-scale and most prolonged battle of the war. The Salvadoran Army command, mindful of prior guerrilla occupation of Perquin that had been quickly dislodged, "went in piecemeal," the observers said. On June 9, two companies moved north on the road to Perquin and were ambushed four miles outside of town by guerrillas. The two companies "scattered like a covey of quail," the observer said, many fleeing across the border to seek refuge among Honduran troops stationed there. Thirty-six were killed in the battle and 60 wounded. The guerrilla Radio Venceremos broadcasted the names of 43 soldiers it said they had captured, the largest number of prisoners taken by the guerrillas in the war.

The battle was the first time the guerrillas had held a frontal position against such a large number of government troops, and the first time (since a defeat of a guerrilla unit of 90 troops in January 1981) that a major unit on either side had been routed in battle, losing its integrity as an organized unit. The guerrillas announced they had captured more than 150 automatic rifles, plus several pieces of light artillery.

The army moved immediately to bring in the three U.S. units that had just finished 10 days of fighting in Chalatenango and San Fernando. Atlacatl, Antonal and Beloso spearheaded the government counterattack with virtually no rest from the earlier campaign.

In other emergency measures, Deputy Defense Minister Francisco Adolfo Castillo reportedly went to a border town to meet with commanders of the Honduran army to coordinate Honduran participation in the battle. Military observers confirmed that "excellent" coordination with Honduran troops took place during the battle. U.S. built A-37 fighter bombers arrived in El Salvador on June 16 and flew into battle to bomb the guerrillas' besieged red-line on June 17. A military observer called it "the decisive factor."

That same day, Castillo and the commander of Morazan forces, Colonel Salvador Beltran Luna, flew in a helicopter to the Perquin area to inspect the operation and were shot down. Beltran Luna was killed and Castillo was captured. Soon rumors began circulating in San Salvador that he had actually turned himself over momentarily to the guerrillas.

The army operation—"Operation Morazan"—eventually involved an estimated 6,000 government troops and 3,000 Honduran troops.

Defense Minister Jose Guillermo Garcia called the fighting the heaviest and bloodiest of the war. The guerrillas pulled out of Perquin and San Fernando June 22, but the fighting raged on for 10 more days. Some observers in San Salvador compared the government counter-attack in coordination with the Honduran troops to Israel's apparently successful drive to eradicate PLO forces in Lebanon, calling the Morazan operation the "final battle" against the guerrillas.

In late June, Radio Venceremos accused the Honduran troops of "aggression" and said that troops had penetrated up to 15 miles into Salvadoran territory. The

No one sees much reason for optimism.

rebels announced for the first time that they would attack Honduran forces and, if necessary, would carry the fight into Honduras.

In an action apparently coordinated with the FMLN, a Honduran commando force blew up on July 4 two of four power plants in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa, leaving the city in darkness for almost two days.

In the entire operation, which ended according to government and guerrilla accounts about July 2, the guerrillas claimed to have caused 550 government casualties and the government claimed 400 guerrillas were killed in the battle. Both sides subsequently denied the others figures, but reports from the battlefield and from Salvadoran hospitals indicated that casualties were high. An observer familiar with Salvadoran military reports and supportive of U.S. policy said that the outcome of the battle was "inconclusive."

This inconclusive engagement demonstrates the inability of even the best that the army can throw at the guerrillas to score a decisive military blow in guerrilla-held territory. Moreover, the fighting for the first time threatened to regionalize the conflict, bringing in open Honduran participation—whether or not one accepts Honduran disclaimers that they actually entered Salvadoran territory.

John Dinges works for the Washington Post and is an associate editor of the Pacific News Service.

IN THESE TIMES

An Appeal

IN THE NATION

IN THE WORLD

EDITORIAL

Dear Ireland

The headlines have come home to the *In These Times* office.

With great reluctance, I must tell you that *In These Times* is facing its most serious financial crisis to date. Without your help, we will join Braniff, A&P and International Harvester on the dustheap of the Reagan recession.

We've had financial problems almost every year—they've been the result of a predictable drop in income during the summer. But this summer's crisis is much worse than before. Because of the combined effect of the recession, high interest rates and rising postal costs, we must raise \$100,000 to survive the summer and another \$100,000 to survive the fall—in short, we need \$200,000 beyond our normal income.

The money can only come from us and from you.

Several weeks ago, the staff of *In These Times* met to decide whether to continue publishing the newspaper. We've never had such a meeting before—there were tears as well as probing questions and suggestions.

We decided that the newspaper must continue—that we should make what sacrifices we could to help the paper survive. On June 1, the staff went on half-time pay and we cut one full-time and two part-time positions.

Now you have to decide whether you will also help *In These Times* survive.

Without your most generous financial contribution we will not.

At our staff meeting, we discussed three reasons why we thought *In These Times* was worth saving—even at great sacrifice.

Politically, we think *In These Times* has never been more relevant to the American left than it is now. Without unduly patting ourselves on the back, we can say that the left has developed along the same lines that we've hoped and argued for since 1976.

Since then, coalitions have formed between the labor movement and the movements that grew out of the ferment of the '60s. These citizen-labor coalitions have united not only around specific legislative goals, but also around electoral candidates and programs. And whether in name or not, they have increasingly drawn from the democratic socialist tradition to define an alternative to both Reaganomics and Democratic neo-liberalism.

In the 1982 and 1984 elections, this trend will become increasingly important in the Democratic Party and among independents.

By covering these movements and campaigns and providing a forum where their participants could argue strategy and tactics, *In These Times* has become the newspaper of the newly emerging democratic left. If we disappear, there will be no national publication in which the diverse threads of this coalition—from the president of the Hartford Central Labor Council to an organizer for the California nuclear freeze—can read about themselves.

but we believe this one alone justifies our doing everything we can to make the paper survive.

Financially, we believe that if we weather this crisis, we can continue to grow in the 1980s. This year's situation is extraordinary. It's the product of crunching interest rates (which have dramatically reduced the amount of credit at our disposal), increased unemployment (which, alas, is affecting many of our readers) and spiraling postal fees. Individually, each of these factors is problematic—in combination they spell trouble.

But even with the recession, our circulation has continued to grow, slowly but steadily. As the recession abates, which it will eventually, and as the democratic left continues to grow, we expect that our financial prospects can only improve, as they did from 1980 to 1981.

Personally, none of us on staff can tolerate *In These Times* going under. We can find other jobs, but we are not working on *In These Times* simply to make a living. It's a chance to work on something that we deeply believe in.

Our bookkeeper, Anne Ireland, put it best during our staff meeting. "A lot of my friends don't understand what I am doing," she said. "I could be making a lot more money elsewhere, and probably have half the headaches, but this is the first job I've had where I feel I'm making a contribution. It matters a

In These Times But

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PERSPECTIVES

IN DEPTH

LIFE IN THE U.S.

IN PRINT

"That a socialist paper like *In These Times* exists."

What to do? As I already said, we decided that this summer of us who could would take their salary. About three-quarters staff will do this, at a savings of \$30,000 for the summer. I reluctantly decided to lay off full-time employees and not to be the assistant managing editor, left. This will increase the cost of the remaining staff, but by another \$7,500.

After these cuts and after paring it even further—it was a lean start to begin with—we're still short. And there is no way we can live on his money except from you. If *In These Times* to survive in the future you have to make a contribution. Please ask your friends to do likewise. There is no other way.

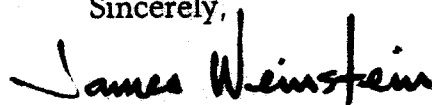
We've written you letters before about our survival depended upon you. We were telling you the difference between what we were asking in those letters and what we are asking of you now. In the past we only expected to raise our money at most from our fundraising. We knew that if you exercised maximal generosity and commitment we would be able to survive. But at a normal *In These Times*

must now raise four times your generosity during this fund-drive. We need those of you who hesitated in the past to make a contribution to overcome your

hesitations—quickly. We need those of you who gave \$10, \$25, \$100 or \$250 to give \$40, \$100, \$400 or \$1,000.

We're doing what we can to keep *In These Times* going. Please do all you can.

Sincerely,



James Weinstein
Editor

P.S. You can play an additional role in insuring *In These Times'* future by joining a very special group of people—the Sustainers. Your contribution, sent monthly or quarterly, provides us with the regular income that's essential to our survival. Please join the Sustainers by checking the appropriate box on the coupon below.

P.P.S. You must make your contribution on the assumption that unless you give as much as you can, *In These Times* will not exist in the fall.

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LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

A FIGHTING HISTORY

I APPRECIATE THE STORY ON UE LOCAL 610 in Wilmerding, Pa. (ITT, May 26), striking against givebacks.

Local 610 has a fighting history. In the post-war years, during a power workers' strike that crippled production in the Pittsburgh area, Mayor Lawrence got an injunction to force the power workers to return to work. When they defied it, Lawrence put the strike leaders in jail.

Local 610 called an immediate mass meeting of its members to take a strike vote on supporting the power workers. They struck at 9 a.m. and used a sound truck to tell Westinghouse and steel workers about their action. To head off a general strike movement, the Mayor withdrew the injunction and released the strikers from jail by noon.

Harold Briney and George Bobich were the leaders of the local. When we went into contract negotiations that year (1947) we had to close a loophole the company used to chisel on vacation pay and tighten the seniority clause. The company lawyer opened the meeting with a screaming denunciation of the union for conducting 35 strikes in violation of the previous contract. The members had decided to hold department meetings during working hours to be sure everyone attended. Most of the meetings were held in the Union hall on Station Street. The company called them strikes. There were no penalties. We won the best contract we had had up to that time without a strike.

We lost an arbitration on vacation pay for returning war veterans. We took the case to court. Judge Learned Hand (Philadelphia Circuit Court) wrote a landmark decision ruling in favor of the union.

In 1948 Congressman John McDowell, a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, had a so-called safe district with a Republican majority of registered voters. Many mem-

bers of Local 610 lived in the district. We decided to support the Democrat running against him. Local 610 mobilized two other UE locals, the steel workers, coal miners and others in the district to support the Democrat. The campaign resulted in more than 300 union men and women working the polls on election day. Truman lost the district by 5,000 votes, but the Republican McDowell lost it by 10,000 votes.

On NBC radio the victorious Democrat gave UE Local 610 full credit for his victory.

Best of all, when the witch hunters in the CIO set out to smash the UE in 1949, Local 610 stuck with UE. I have always been proud of my membership in Local 610 during those exciting years.

—Clyde Johnson
Berkeley, Calif.

Editor's note: The local's militant traditions and leadership along with strong support from other local unions, helped sustain the 205-day strike that ended on May 25 this year. Although the local eventually agreed to some changes in piece-rates and a potential limit on cost-of-living adjustments (COLA), it successfully resisted the drastic concessions in pay, COLA, transfer rights and the right-to-strike over grievances that Westinghouse Air Brake wanted to impose. Strikers even stayed out an additional three weeks to force the company to accept union-selected arbitrators to hear the cases of 22 workers fired for alleged picket line violence, most of whom have already been reinstated.

RIGHT-TO-LIFE SKIDS IN OHIO

A FOOTNOTE TO JOHN JUDIS' COVERAGE of the June 8 Ohio Democratic gubernatorial primary (ITT, June 16). Judis mentions the right-to-life leafletting that occurred the Sunday before the election. Background to this is that a similar attack is believed to have cost Dick Celeste the governor's seat when he

ran against James Rhodes in the general election in 1978. Ironically, Celeste, a Catholic and father of six, was targeted by Right to Life without having taken an explicit pro-choice stand.

This time, Celeste spoke out in favor of reproductive rights early in the campaign, earning the endorsements of the state National Abortion Rights Action League and National Organization for Women political action committees. Anti-choice Sunday leafletters were met in church parking lots by volunteers leafletting for Celeste.

Even more importantly, Celeste was identified as the candidate with the best record and position on women's issues in general, and his campaign drew volunteers from the ranks of NARAL, NOW and Nine to Five in an unprecedented coalition effort.

Feminists, particularly pro-choice activists, were also involved in Ed Feighan's successful race against Ron Mottl in the 19th Congressional District Democratic primary.

Results of the primary indicate that three things ring true in Ohio:

- For a candidate to be openly pro-choice can no longer be considered the kiss of death;
- Right to Life is losing influence in electoral politics;
- With pro-choice groups in the lead, women's organizations are developing an ability to mobilize large numbers of experienced volunteers to campaign for liberal and progressive candidates.

—Deborah Van Kleef
Cleveland, Ohio

UNINSPIRED PREACHING

I WAS GLAD TO SEE THE MENTION (ITT, June 2) of our local interreligious disarmament rally in March, but I feel the article distorted the role of Cardinal Krol. All he called for was *bilateral* disarmament, using words like "We have no illusions about the Russians..." and "We are not for a naive unilateral disarmament." This is very similar to what Reagan himself calls for. Many of us who were there came away cynical about Krol's participation.

Yes, Krol was there; but no, his speech was not inspirational. In my opinion, he did not even "preach peace" as the headline implied.

We need to be clearly aware of who the peace people are in the churches and who they are *not*. Krol continues to be a reactionary.

—Jeff Keith
Philadelphia, Pa.

RED LETTER DAY

SEEING LOUIS MENASHE'S ARTICLE "Soviet Dissidents: Down but Not Out" (ITT, June 16) made it a red letter day among the hundreds of days upon which I have opened your pages. I interpret its appearance to be on your part an unqualified commitment to the fight for freedom in every country in the world, including those that misuse the word "socialist" in describing themselves.

As an American, my struggle for socialism is, in the first place, directed against American capitalism. But I cannot separate that struggle from opposition to tyranny and oppression throughout the world, if for no other reason than that the struggle against American capitalism is weakened to the extent socialists become apologists for regimes elsewhere that deprive their people of the rights that we fight for here.

The ability of *In These Times* to see through the facade of socialist forms and language used to conceal oppression and exploitation in nations that adhere to the Soviet model, including China, marks a new level of political sophistication for your publication. It was not always so. Five years ago I discontinued my subscription in sorrow and anger. Three years ago a friend re-subscribed for me, contending that changes were taking place. It was not, however, until your coverage of Polish

Solidarity that I began breathing easier. The article on the Soviet dissidents is the capstone. I now feel free to use *In These Times* as a weapon in the fight for socialism without fear that I will have to explain to neighbors or fellow workers that the socialist publication to which I introduced them is to be believed only with respect to the capitalist world, because it suffers from a naive belief that virtuous, just, benign regimes exist in the non-capitalist world by reason of the fact that they choose to call themselves "socialist."

—Ernest Erber

Chair, Howard County Local (Md.)
Democratic Socialists of America
Columbia, Md.

SUPPORT FOR ZOLTON FERENCY

THE STATEMENT THAT ZOLTON FERENCY is running for governor of Michigan "without DSOC support" (ITT, April 7) is not entirely accurate. Several Michigan DSA (DSOC) locals are working enthusiastically for Ferency. In May, however, the Detroit local, for reasons best known to its leaders, refused to endorse Ferency.

Although Michigan Democrats have a strong chance to win in November, that likelihood has been diminished by a display of the unbending paternalism that has been the bane of the American labor movement. The Michigan AFL-CIO, the UAW CAP Council and other union organizations, after months of casting about for a supportable primary candidate for governor, finally settled on James Blanchard, a young but lackluster congressman with a 61 percent ADA rating. Ferency was not seriously considered for a standard-bearer because of his past disagreements with the labor leadership—the rights and wrongs of which will always be in dispute.

Nevertheless, Ferency, in addition to being a refreshing and imaginative candidate with many other fine attributes, is the *only* socialist in the race. He deserves the support of everyone who opposes the American drift toward corporativism.

—David Selden

—Don Cooney
DSA co-chairpersons
Kalamazoo, Mich.

C.L. R. JAMES

IT WAS GOOD TO SEE SO MUCH SPACE devoted to the work of C.L.R. James, but unfortunately Jeff Beneke's review of the James' issue of *Urgent Tasks* (ITT, May 26) perpetuates "the marginalization" it deplores by failing to mention the fact that four of the James books are in print in the U.S. and readily available through bookstores:

Future in the Present, Selected Writings, Vol. I—an introduction to James: essays, stories and articles never before published in book form. 1977, paper, \$6.95.

Spheres of Existence: Selected Writings, Vol. II—more selections from the remarkable scholar and thinker: essays, reviews and appreciations. 1980, paper, \$7.95.

Notes on Dialectics—they key work in the development of James' thinking, written in 1948. 1981, paper, \$6.95.

Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution—an account of the mass movement at the root of the Ghanaian revolution and the great leader who emerged from it. 1977, cloth, \$12.95.

If my sources are accurate, one of his most important books, *The Black Jacobins*, is not currently available.

—Lawrence Hill
Westport, Conn.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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ROBERTA LYNCH

Shattering myths about the ERA

By Roberta Lynch

EVEN BEFORE THE ERA was officially put to rest on June 30, the newspapers were crowded with articles meditating on the whys of its demise. Not surprisingly, an overriding theme of this largely male chorus was that women themselves, especially feminists, were to blame for the amendment's failure.

The arguments being cited to buttress such claims were far off the mark and could take us even farther off in thinking about the future if we do not challenge them now. Here are some of these myths-in-the-making.

• **Myth:** The ERA failed because the radical tactics—such as hunger strikes—alienated legislators and the public.

The reality was that the hunger strikers and others did not have the slightest effect on the ERA's downfall. Such tactics were never even used until the last few months of 10 long years. And by then the battle lines were firmly drawn, the necessary decisions had already been made. The fasters were an excuse for those who were looking for one and a lightning rod for those who resent any independent acts by women. But, in essence, the die was cast before the first meal was missed.

• **Myth:** The ERA failed because feminists dragged in other issues, such as abortion rights.

This argument betrays a lack of understanding of the complex character of the women's movement. It is not some monolith run by a central committee, but rather a diverse, broad-based network that ranges from Republicans to radicals and houses a multitude of issues under its roof.

Phyllis Schlafly attempted to make some political hay out of this diversity by linking the ERA to other feminist issues—and by inventing a few issues of her own, such as unisex toilets. But the fact is that the pro-ERA forces, as a relatively autonomous wing of the women's movement, did everything that they could to divorce the ERA from these other issues without attempting to disavow their legitimacy as feminist concerns.

• **Myth:** The ERA failed because its proponents were a bunch of political amateurs who were out-organized by skilled practitioners of the legislative game.

The myth-makers like to tell us that the ERA had smooth sailing in its early years because most legislators were sympathetic to women's rights, but that once the anti-ERA forces got into the act, they managed to turn the whole thing around. The truth is a little different. Many politicians were indifferent or even opposed to women's rights. But they didn't have the guts to stand up and be counted against equality until Schlafly and company came along and they had some skirts to hide behind.

In addition, while feminists were indeed naive in their initial legislative skirmishes, their critics demonstrate their own brand of naivete in their seeming blindness to the bizarre machinations that determine the political outcomes in a state legislature like that of Illinois. To act as though politics is a rational process in which elected officials respond to their constituents' desires is rather like imagining that big businesses develop their products in response to the needs of consumers.

• **Myth:** The ERA failed because Phyllis Schlafly won.

Quite the contrary. Schlafly is in fact one of the great losers of our time—a woman caught in an awful conundrum. She has chosen to identify with an ideology that insists that women have no social role other than mothering and baking, while at the same time she yearns to be a major political actor in the world that she has relegated to men.

You can pity Schlafly or you can dislike her. But it's ridiculous to hold her up as some kind of paragon of success. Basically, she's a flop. The movement of women into the workforce has contin-

aided by the intersection of two important new developments.

The first is that feminists have gained political skills and savvy in the long battle for the ERA and are now prepared to use them to develop an effective and wide-ranging electoral approach. The second is that women are fast coming to outnumber men as voters and they are beginning to show a marked difference in their political opinions, based not only on women's issues, but on broader social and economic questions.

Translating these new realities into a viable political force will require working through four central issues.

1. There is a need to develop a political strategy that does not scatter limited resources, but instead builds slowly and deliberately for power. We have to carefully target those candidates that we want to defeat in the wake of the ERA defeat. In the past we've made the mistake of scattering our forces into the campaigns of various lackluster challengers who couldn't win a race with a turtle, in order to take on every incumbent



NOW president Eleanor Smeal recently suggested that women consider forming a third political party.

ued unabated for the last decade and shows no signs of halting. Women are now the majority of those joining unions and the movement not just for equal pay, but for pay equity, is taking hold around the country. On this score, and on many others, Schlafly has long since been outdistanced by the great majority of women—who are doing as she does, not as she says.

• **Myth:** The defeat of the ERA represents a major defeat for the women's movement.

For all the mistakes that were made, the battle for the ERA was really a remarkable political drama. It is hard to think of any other issue at the state level that has so preoccupied our legislatures, aroused such passion or generated such activism. That feminists were able—beginning with so little—to sustain this struggle for so long is in itself a political achievement of the first order.

Moreover, the fight for the ERA—important as it was—is not the signal battle of the women's movement. In fact, there is no such preeminent battle. The gains of the movement have been made on so many fronts and in so many ways that it is impossible to document them all.

While there is a grain of truth in each of these myths, as a whole they represent a dramatic evasion of the fundamental reason for the ERA's defeat: We live in a sexist society in which women are largely excluded from the arenas of political power.

It is this hard lesson that has prompted feminists to turn so seriously toward the practice of politics in their current strategizing. In this process, they are

who opposed the ERA.

Now we have the possibility of moving toward targeting a very few key legislators whose role was particularly notorious—and against whom we can field credible candidates whom we feel comfortable supporting on a range of issues.

And we have the opportunity to put together campaign training and candidate development efforts that can have a major impact on the next round of primaries.

2. Feminists can begin to explore the potential for a political agenda that is not limited to a few women's issues, but rather demonstrates the way in which a feminist perspective can infuse a range of concerns. NOW leader Eleanor Smeal was recently quoted in the *New York Times* about the possibility of forming a third party. Such an idea seems manifestly impractical, but the spirit behind it should not be ignored.

An alternative strategy might be the development of something like a women's agenda or platform that could form the basis for endorsing and working for candidates, as well as a rallying point within the Democratic Party. Most importantly, such an agenda could become a focus for the growing concerns of women about issues such as equality, peace and aid for the elderly.

3. We need to examine forms of political organization that can implement this strategy. The COPE political structure of the AFL-CIO provides one important model. But there is also a unique opportunity to go beyond existing forms and experiment with new directions.

4. Women can forge a new political style that challenges the manipulation and opportunism that have come to characterize American elections. Within our own organizations, we have tried to develop structures that really do foster democracy, leadership that grows out of respect and interactions that imply an expectation of integrity on everyone's part. We haven't always succeeded, but we're a far cry from politics as usual in the legislatures of our nation.

Instead of seeing ourselves as sacrificing our internal values, we need to look for ways to bring them into the political process as we begin to impact on it. Over the past decade, we have witnessed—and experienced—major changes in women's roles. But we have also come to understand better what a complex tangle of psychological, cultural, economic and political factors continue to limit our choices, to keep so many women on the bottom of the social ladder, to deny our dreams—despite the formalities of equal opportunity.

Not all of these barriers can be addressed through the political process, but because they are so closely interrelated all of them depend in some measure on our ability to come into our own as political beings. For unless we can come to terms with the uses of power, we will never be able to end the abuses of power that so circumscribe our lives.

Roberta Lynch is active in the job safety and health movement and is a national officer of the Democratic Socialists of America.

War Victims in Lebanon Need Your Help

Once again the people of Lebanon are victims of Israeli military action against Palestinian and Syrian forces in the country. A telex from an American Friends Service Committee relief worker in Beirut tells of the incalculable suffering of civilians. "Over 600,000 fleeing the bombing are homeless, refugees in their own land.

Overcrowding in Beirut unbearable.

Families now living in public gardens and in the streets. Hospitals full, electricity out. Emergency aid desperately needed."

In response the Service Committee has sent \$25,000 of disaster relief funds. With your generous help we can do much more to decrease the suffering of these innocent civilian victims of war. Please send us your donation today.



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HAWAII

The poison from pineapples

By Jeanette Foster

HAWAII

"I started crying as I read the paper. I'm frightened something might be wrong with my baby," wrote Beverly Creamer, a reporter for the *Honolulu Advertiser*, a Honolulu daily paper. "Up until now, I've been trying not to 'overreact.' Sure I've been upset for the past month as the controversy over unsafe levels of heptachlor in our dairy products has raged over Hawaii's landscape. I was scared and angry at first, as all women who are expecting children must be.... And then I read one of the latest stories on heptachlor. And it hit me. This stuff could have been in the milk I've been drinking for five months—as early as November.

"Or even worse, longer than that."

Creamer, like other Hawaii residents, probably had never heard of that "stuff"—heptachlor—until March 18 when whole milk products were quickly pulled from grocery store shelves in Honolulu. For the next eight weeks different dairy products continued to be banned from sale in the largest episode of pesticide poisoning and government bungling Hawaii has ever seen.

Heptachlor is a powerful pesticide from the chlorinated hydrocarbons. This group contains hydrogen, carbon and chlorine, an extremely poisonous element. Some of the better known members of the chlorinated hydrocarbon family are DDT, aldrin/dieldrin, mirex and chlordane. Heptachlor has caused cancer in laboratory animals and kidney and liver malfunctions in humans. It was virtually banned by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)

from use in 1978.

Except in Hawaii.

The powerful pineapple industry in Hawaii lobbied to be allowed to use heptachlor during a phase-out period from 1978 to 1982. Heptachlor is used by the pineapple industry in Hawaii to kill ants (*pheidole megacephala*). The pineapple industry's real problem is with the mealybug (*Homoptera pseudococcidae*). It causes mealybug wilt disease, a plague the pineapple industry people claim can wipe out an entire crop. The ants feed on a substance excreted by the mealybug called honeydew. This honeydew is so important to the ants that they will guard the mealybug from its enemies, such as the parasitic wasp, the ladybug beetle and the lacewing.

The pineapple industry has not figured out a way to kill the mealybug yet without killing the pineapple plant so

they have settled on killing the ant.

Heptachlor, a thick amber concentrate, is mixed with water by formulators who must wear protective clothing, including a mask to protect them from inhaling the fumes. It is then sprayed from tractor-mounted booms at a maximum rate of 1.875 pounds an acre, blanketing an entire field.

Just how the heptachlor kills the ants, no one knows for sure.

"All we know is that it is a nerve poison, like most chlorinated hydrocarbons," said Dr. Martin Sherman, an insect toxicologist at the University of Hawaii. "We really don't know the exact mechanism heptachlor works on in the ant, only that it is a nerve poison in insects and higher animals, too."

After the pineapple fruit is picked from the plant, the sword-like green leaves are harvested, chopped, shredded and sold to the dairy industry to feed the cattle.

Dr. John Hylin, an agricultural biochemist at the University of Hawaii explained, "Green chop [as it is called] is very good forage. It's cheap and good, the pineapple companies get a little money for it and they don't have to haul it away."

Red flag at the lab.

Green chop's only disadvantage is that it cannot be harvested less than a year after the pineapple field has been sprayed with heptachlor. Lyle Wong of the state Department of Agriculture's pesticide branch, swears that the pineapple plantations keep "extensive" records and are responsible for seeing that no field is chopped before its time.

However, on January 6, 1982, during a routine, random, twice-a-year test on the milk sold in Honolulu, the state Department of Health turned up high readings of heptachlor in milk. A second set of tests looking for 19 substances including pesticides like DDT and heptachlor were run again on the same batch. The same red flag reading for heptachlor appeared.

The lab chief at the state Department of Health, Albert Oda, who has been in the bureaucracy for 25 years, sent a report on his finding to the health department's food and drug branch chief Karl Tomomitsu. He also sent a sample of the suspected milk to the Federal Drug Administration (FDA) lab in San Francisco for further confirmation.

However, Oda claims he "forgot" to tell FDA that there was a rush on the testing. So the urgent sample was just given routine treatment in San Francisco and was not returned to Honolulu with results until March 1, nearly two months after the original sampling was taken. "It was an oversight on my part," Oda said later.

Oda is uncomfortable that state politicians have chastised his lab and workers for taking eight more days in March to set up for large scale testing of milk. He points out that hasty action would have been financially costly to the dairy industry, as well as personally embarrassing to him. So he sent the sample of milk to be checked and rechecked even after the FDA had confirmed that there was heptachlor in the milk.

"We have always tried to protect them [the dairy industry]," he said. "If we had responded sooner, there would have been a lot of other problems involved."

He did not mention a responsibility to inform or protect the public. In fact, during this time Oda's biggest worry was another lab report in January saying that heptachlor was also found in the fat of hamburger meat.

Oda said he considered heptachlor in hamburger an "internal problem that did not deal with the public." So he ignored the hamburger problem and simply reported the heptachlor milk findings to Karl Tomomitsu, of the health department's food and drug branch.

Tomomitsu has been on the job for 27 years. He supervises eight inspectors who oversee everything from local food manufacturing to how clean restaurants are. But Tomomitsu admits that he doesn't understand the lab reports he gets on food and drugs.

"We don't know lab lingo. 'Suspicious peaks?' What is that?" he said of the milk lab report. "If we had alerted

the dairy and we were wrong, we could have got in trouble for false dissemination of news."

Tomomitsu said he would not have moved against the dairies on January 22 after two tests confirmed heptachlor in the milk because he didn't want to do something that would hurt the dairy industry.

"I still wouldn't have jumped. We don't want to use irresponsible statements. We can't say certain things without causing problems," he said. So Tomomitsu ordered more testing, explaining later that since it had been almost two months since the first samples had been taken, he wanted to make sure that the milk was still contaminated.

On March 11 the deputy director of the department, Melvin Koizumi, was finally informed of the heptachlor contamination when the test results again came back positive.

Five days later the state Director of Health, George Yuen, was finally notified. A press release was drawn up to recall all milk and milk products on Oahu, but that was changed to a recall only of homogenized, 2 percent, Half and Half and acidophilus.

1962 book *Silent Spring* pointed out the indiscriminate use of pesticides and the resulting poisoning of the environment. The outcry led to the banning of DDT, aldrin/dieldrin and mirex—all chlorinated hydrocarbons and all carcinogenic.

Heptachlor did not escape this scrutiny by the EPA. After numerous studies showing that heptachlor can cause cancer in laboratory animals, hearings to ban heptachlor began in 1974. However, the manufacturer of heptachlor, Velsicol Chemical Corporation, fought the ban over the next five years in a series of hearings that produced some 147,000 pages of testimony.

The EPA claimed during the hearings that heptachlor created a "background level" of chemical poisoning throughout the food chain and that heptachlor epox-

called "worthless." Dr. John Hylin, agricultural biochemist with the University of Hawaii's School of Tropical Agriculture, said the zero tolerance level established for heptachlor "has no basis in health effects." The level was set in the early '60s, he said, when no information on heptachlor became available.

The action level at which the EPA now bans a product containing heptachlor is .3 parts per million. It was set because at the time that was the lowest level at which heptachlor could be measured. Although today heptachlor can be detected in smaller amounts, the EPA claims that it sees no immediate danger to public health and will not change the action level.

The state Department of Agriculture, the agency responsible for overseeing the

told one of the milk processors that it was okay to mix contaminated milk with safe milk to reduce heptachlor levels (illegal under state law) and the deputy director of health admitted allowing dairies to make skim milk from contaminated raw milk (illegal under federal law).

As a result of this misinformation, one of the milk processors has sued the state Department of Health for the loss of revenue that the misinformation has caused. Eight subsequent recalls cost Oahu's 19 dairies some \$75,000 a day. As of the end of June only six of the 19 dairies have contamination-free milk that the state will allow to be marketed. The dairies also have sued the pineapple companies, Del Monte Corporation and Castle and Cooke (doing business as Dole Company), Brewer Chemical Corporation (the company selling heptachlor in Hawaii) and Velsicol Chemical Corporation (the manufacturer of heptachlor) to the tune of \$72 million.

Oahu's dairy farmers are wondering what to do with their contaminated dairy cattle. An expert from Michigan State University, Dr. R.M. Cook, who had some experience with a similar poisoning of Michigan dairy cows by feed contaminated by PBB in the early 1970s, recommended that the farmers use the barbiturate phenobarbital, a narcotic, to cut in half the contamination period.

Cook told the worried farmers that the narcotic has been used "safely and effectively" in tests and field work. But he added, "I don't blame you for being nervous" about public reaction to the use of the drug.

Cook said that he discovered that activated carbon increases the rate of excretion in the feces, while sodium phenobarbital increases the ability of the body to break down the compound. However, Dr. Janette D. Sherman, an advisor to EPA for Toxic Substance Control Act, said that phenobarbital may not solve the farmers' problems and may give them further problems, since phenobarbital is eliminated through milk and the cows' milk could not be sold.

"These cows should be studied," said Sherman, who also works with the Pesticide Hazard Assessment Program at the University of Hawaii. "There is an immediate need to test the dairy animals for heptachlor in their fat and liver, general health, pregnancy outcomes, infertility, health of calves, sperm findings, liver functions and blood indices. The dairy workers should be surveyed too, for fat levels of heptachlor and they should have tests to determine their liver function, sperm function and blood indices."

No testing of the cows has ever been done.

Consumers in Hawaii are panicked. Dairy sales have plummeted and people are not reassured by statements from the Department of Health.

The pineapple industry, which was under fire last year for poisoning of certain water systems by the pesticide DBCP (which has caused sterility in males, birth defects and cancer in laboratory animals), has remained quiet.

Now, instead of green chop, guinea grass hay from the island of Molokai is feeding the cows. Is it being tested? The Department of Agriculture is mum.

The pineapple industry says it plans to replace heptachlor with something called Amdro, made by American Cyanamid and described as "a slow-acting stomach insecticide." Little more information is available on Amdro, despite repeated attempts to find out by physicians, scientists and consumer groups.

"The heptachlor contamination of milk supply in Hawaii is little different from the PBB contamination in Michigan and the Love Canal contamination in New York state," Sherman wrote to the assistant administrator for EPA's Pesticides and Toxic Substances division. "The heptachlor contamination of milk only points up a severe ongoing problem. It also points up the inability of the Departments of Health and Agriculture to adequately monitor and handle pesticidal related problems."

"Control of pesticides is clearly a federal matter and in order to protect public

Continued on page 23

It took watchdog agencies months to announce that cows' milk was contaminated, and to pull milk products off grocery shelves.



Tomomitsu said his superiors told him to make the change. In later testimony to the state senate investigating committee, Tomomitsu revealed just how little the Department of Health knew about the dairy industry's operations and the law. The department could not reach the milk processors to find out if the other dairy products were made with local or imported butterfat. (Heptachlor sticks to the butterfat portion of milk.) So they decided to recall only the whole milk products.

It was a mistake the department has since regretted. A week later they had to recall ice cream.

The next week, the director of the Department of Health, under public pressure, announced his "early retirement," saying the milk fiasco had "nothing to do" with his decision.

His replacement, a former director of the state Department of Education, Charles Clark, told the public that there "would be no more milk recalls."

The next day yogurt was pulled from the shelves.

The next week it was cottage cheese.

Then nursing mothers' milk showed high levels.

On April 17, the FDA banned Hawaii's milk products from being served on airlines. A few days later, the military pulled Hawaii's remaining milk products from its shelves. The next day the state recalled all the milk products from one of two Honolulu milk processors.

And on May 15, four months after the fact, testimony in a state senate hearing revealed for the first time that hamburger meat also had high levels of heptachlor in January but was not pulled from the shelf nor were consumers informed.

Friendly watchdogs.

How could this happen? It took two powerful industries, the chemical manufacturers and the agricultural industry in Hawaii, coupled with the ineptitude of Hawaii's "watchdog" agencies.

Heptachlor has been used since the '40s on agricultural crops like corn, but also on such things as lawns, gardens and ground termites. Rachel Carson's

1962 book *Silent Spring* pointed out the indiscriminate use of pesticides and the resulting poisoning of the environment. The outcry led to the banning of DDT, aldrin/dieldrin and mirex—all chlorinated hydrocarbons and all carcinogenic.

Velsicol came up with studies saying that heptachlor was not a carcinogen and was safe. However, the EPA hired five pathologists to check Velsicol's studies and concluded that the laboratory reports were wrong. A federal grand jury in Chicago later indicted six officers or former officers of Velsicol for concealing information, although the case was later thrown out of court on procedural grounds.

The contested ban on heptachlor lasted until the late '70s, with the Chicago chemical company lobbying heavily against the ban.

See no evil.

Melvin D. Reuber, a Maryland pathologist who headed the team hired to check the Velsicol studies, said that the EPA started out well during the Nixon years, able to ban DDT and other carcinogenic chemicals. But, he said, the EPA "is much weaker now."

By 1978, a compromise agreement had been reached between the EPA and Velsicol to phase out the use of heptachlor over the next five years.

George LaRocca, an EPA spokesperson, said, "Many uses were cancelled outright, but exceptions were made in situations where there were no alternatives."

Like Hawaii.

Lyle Wong, of the pesticides branch of the state Department of Agriculture, said when a pesticide is banned the EPA bans only the manufacturing, not the sale of inventory. This is what happened in Hawaii. The EPA first banned mirex, which was used in killing ants. When the pineapple plantations' reserve of mirex ran out, they turned to heptachlor and have been using it extensively only in the last two or three years.

Before the compromise ban of heptachlor, the EPA set a level of tolerance that some health officials in Hawaii have

spraying of heptachlor, has only a handful of inspectors to police the spraying of 11,500 acres of pineapples. If there are violations of overspraying, the Department of Agriculture has no practical way of checking the fields.

The green chop sold to the dairy farms was never checked until after the milk poisoning. Why? Both the agriculture and health departments officially claim everyone follows and obeys the rules regarding pesticides, so there is no need to check. So the untested green chop is fed to the cattle and the milk is then taken, untested, to a processing plant where it is only randomly tested twice a year.

"We rely on the Health Department and the milk plant to check the quality," said James Koshi, general manager of the 50th State Dairy Farmers Cooperative in Honolulu.

The milk industry in Hawaii is a highly structured state-approved monopoly. There are two milk processors and 19 farms on the island of Oahu. Each farmer is given a quota by the state board and guaranteed a certain price for meeting it. The board approves prices, issues licenses and assures everyone a profit.

Outsiders are discouraged from intruding on this closed club. In recent years, according to an article in the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, two milk firms have cased Hawaii but were turned away before they could apply for licenses.

This is not to say that milk in Hawaii is not tested—it is, but for such things as coliform, bacteria and butterfat levels, not for pesticides.

Harolyn Fukuda, a spokesperson for Meadow Gold Dairies, said that the milk industry doesn't test for pesticides, because the state Department of Health is responsible for that area.

The state Department of Health, which has proved its inability to monitor and alert consumers of pesticides in milk, was also later discovered to have given the dairy farmers the wrong information that resulted in the eight separate recalls of milk products.

During a closed-door state senate investigation on the heptachlor matter, the then-director of health admitted that he

INPRINT

Working for Capitalism
By Richard M. Pfeffer
Columbia University Press,
395 pp., \$5.95

By Sidney Mintz

Pfeffer, a political scientist, lawyer and—until he was “let go”—college teacher, took a job while on academic leave and worked seven months as a fork lift operator in a factory. He says it was the first job he had ever had and, because it was a first, I believe his perceptions were influenced accordingly. His book describes, often in marvelous detail, the duties and difficulties of his work; the essence of the trashman's job is “keeping the hoppers empty,” but there are 35 steps, and they take up two pages of description. The book never backs away from the realities of human intelligence shackled by circumstance, and it concentrates on work and on the workplace to make all of its points simply and persuasively.

Yet it is riven by difficulties, and might best be read as two books instead of one. The first and much the better book is in Parts I and II: The work process, and Workers and the union. The second book draws on (and in effect, reviews) six other books in an effort to convince the reader that the problems of the workplace portrayed in the first book are the direct consequence of the capitalist mode of production. But the two parts of the book are not subtly joined.

Pfeffer offers us a rich account of his experience, beginning with the employment offices he visited, the withdrawn and unquestioning comportment of his fellow job-seekers, the mysterious ways in which aspirants are sifted, and the frightening first days of learning one's job, constantly fearing failure. Caught between the corporate managers and a bureaucratic, unfeeling union, the workers become cynical about their jobs, uninterested in doing more than a necessary minimum. Their inclination to be mutually supportive is weakened by fear of blame, of being even more exploited, of retribution by the foreman for stepping out of line. Much of the account rings true for me, even though my last experiences in a factory go back some 40 years.

Home and work.

But there are two important methodological difficulties. The first is one the author was entirely aware of: “I decided quite early in my factory term that I would limit my relations with co-workers to the workplace and to union meetings. I did not socialize with workers after work, although on several occasions I was given the chance to do so.”

Because work is often as unpleasant and as dehumanizing as Pfeffer makes it out to be, what happens during the hours spent outside the shop becomes even more precious in understanding not only how workers feel about work, but also how the work experience is assimilated, psychologically and socially, during nonwork time. This is important. It is not just that workers rest from work when they are not working; they may also transmute the work experience in terms not visible to others in the

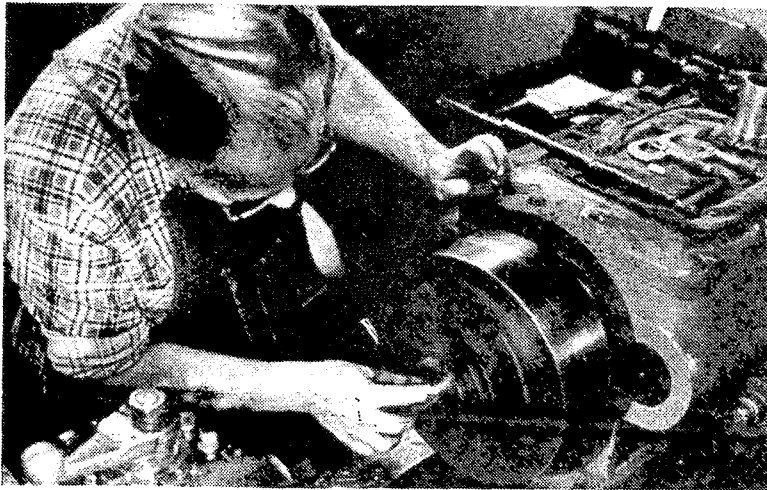
workplace. I think it is important to recognize that some, many or even most of the people working in that plant do have social relationships with other workers, and that through such relationships the work experience itself can be endowed with manifold and even contradictory meanings.

The second difficulty is one shared by anthropologists, even if not all of us care to admit it: We are, by definition, dilettantes. We can get up and leave the field at any moment (assuming, of course, we have not fallen ill, been taken prisoner, or some such). Knowing one can leave makes a very different thing of staying. Consequently Pfeffer's inferences about what things meant to others, based on what they meant to him, are open to question. It is a problem that haunts anthropologists, the problem of translation in the widest and most inclusive sense.

Another aspect of the sociology of work deserves mention,

ated and unhappy as the author believes, can this be laid entirely at capitalism's door? This is no idle question, particularly in view of a lengthy footnote explaining that socialist transformation of the relations of production has not yet occurred either in the Soviet Union or in the PRC. With what, then, are the conditions in “Blancs” factory to be compared? Pfeffer finds himself compelled to organize his crit-

ties, during the greatest part of the living day, to the manipulation of a technical routine that has an eventually high efficiency value but that answers to no spiritual needs of her own is an appalling sacrifice to civilization. As a solution to the problem of culture she is a failure—the more dismal the greater her natural endowment. As with the telephone girl, so, it is to be feared, with the great majority of us, slave-



Robert Gumpert

SOCIOLOGY

Culture of the factory world



LNS Women's Graphics

though it does not reflect directly on Pfeffer's perceptions or findings. Workers not only transmute the work experience away from the assembly line; they also get pleasure out of work that may be hard to see as pleasure. Workers take pride in their work, even if the work is taxing and poorly rewarded. Not all workers, to be sure; and surely not all of the time. But feats of skill, endurance, psychomotor coordination, strength and deftness still thrill the actor, even if the audience doesn't care. Capitalism—and socialism, too—can count on this deeply-felt but rarely articulated quality in us, and it deserves mention.

Finally, there is the biggest question—if workers are as alien-

ique of capitalism noncomparatively, and in terms of a future yet to be realized anywhere. I found myself, while reading this disturbing book, drawn back to a classic anthropological article by Edward Sapir, where the problem is posed, not in political but almost in aesthetic terms:

“The major activities of the individual must directly satisfy his own creative and emotional impulses, must always be something more than means to an end. The great cultural fallacy of industrialism, as developed up to the present time, is that in harnessing machines to our uses it has not known how to avoid the harnessing of the majority of mankind to its machines. The telephone girl who lends her capaci-



Syd Harris

stokers to fires that burn for demons we would destroy, were it not that they appear in the guise of our benefactors.

“The American Indian who solves the economic problem with salmon-spear and rabbit-snare operates on a relatively low level of civilization, but he represents an incomparably higher solution than our telephone girl of the questions that culture has to ask of economics. There is here no question of the immediate utility, of the effective dir-

ectness, of economic effort, nor of any sentimentalizing regrets as to the passing of the natural man. The Indian's salmon-spear is a culturally higher type of activity than that of the telephone girl or mill hand simply because there is normally no sense of spiritual frustration during its prosecution, no feeling of subservience to tyrannous yet largely inchoate demands, because it works in naturally with all the rest of the Indian's activities instead of standing out as a desert patch of merely economic effort in the whole of life.

“A genuine culture cannot be defined as a sum of abstractly desirable ends, as a mechanism. It must be looked upon as a sturdy plant growth, each remotest leaf and twig of which is organically fed by the sap at the core. And this growth is not here meant as a metaphor for the group only; it is meant to apply as well to the individual. A culture that does not build itself out of the central interests and desires of its bearers, that works from general ends to the individual, is an external culture. The word ‘external,’ which is so often instinctively chosen to describe such a culture, is well

chosen. The genuine culture is internal, it works from the individual to ends.”

The society that will realize Sapir's aspirations—and Pfeffer's—is yet to be born.

None of this detracts, however, from a book written with feeling and insight, one that stands out in a literature now grown profuse.

Sidney Mintz teaches anthropology at Johns Hopkins University.

Movies

Continued from page 24

remained remarkably constant and loyal to the collective enterprise, even though Fassbinder freely admitted that in financing his films, “I had to do it the capitalist way, on speculation and risk.”

The productivity of Fassbinder's team is still hard to believe. It has been calculated that the average shooting time of its first

13 films was 17 days. Film crews were cut to the barest minimum. Friends, families, enthusiasts and hangers-on were prepared to work for little or no payment, until or unless the film, or some other film, began to make money. This team enabled Fassbinder to withstand what for other directors would have been catastrophes (as when the funds for the politically “sensitive” film *The Third Generation* were cut off one week into its shooting schedule). Without the dedication of his co-workers, Fassbinder's speed and distinctive style

could never have developed. Even when he moved outside his circle, a process that began with *Effi Briest*—a studio production on which Fassbinder spent the best part of a year—it was the furious productivity of his earlier films that carried over into his later career.

Even while it lasted, the collective had its ups and downs, which is scarcely surprising. All too often it would find itself dominated by the same division of labor, hierarchy and patriarchalism it was originally designed to subvert. Fassbinder

once spoke of all this in words you don't have to be a filmmaker to consider worth pondering.

“It's not that the model [of collective cooperation] is false,” he said, “it's that as yet we are incapable of assuming it. Nothing is to be gained by imposing in advance a theory, an ideological framework. Ideology must be born from practice. Nothing is to be gained by being a Marxist; it's worth everything to be a poet one.”

Paul Thomas teaches at the University of California, Berkeley.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

Different drummers

By Jay Walljasper

Elvis Presley, Muddy Waters and the Supremes were all introduced to the world via small, struggling record labels that recognized talent when no one else did. And their success has fed that portion of the American dream that insists that any kid with a song in his or her heart and the help of a small-time record producer has a chance at stardom. This charming notion bears as much resemblance to the current state of the record industry as Johnny Appleseed does to James Watt.

In 1979, according to *Fortune* magazine, six companies were responsible for 85 percent of all records purchased in America. Since then the field has narrowed to just three that account for the lion's share of sales. Warner/Flektra/Asylum, a division of the Kinney Corporation, which owns many of the nation's parking ramps; Polygram, a multinational firm run by German and Dutch interests; and CBS, the music subsidiary of the Columbia communications empire.

Back in the '70s, when music industry profits were still booming and the big labels were busy gobbling up each other, record companies took risks on folk or blues musicians like Willie Dixon, third world stars like Brazil's Milton Nascimento and overtly political bands like the Clash. But recession-pinched big labels have now grown exceedingly cautious, putting their bets on increased promotion for proven money-makers. The high price of a full-scale publicity blitz means an album must sell several hundred thousand copies just to break even. That makes wide radio play a necessity. So the music must be tailored to fit precisely into one of the familiar radio formats: easy listening, heavy metal, mainstream country-western, contemporary black. Virtually no room is left at the large labels for ethnic, experimental, folk or regional artists—not to mention music with political commentary.

Bucking the trend.

A crop of small independent labels—usually operated out of spare bedrooms on shoestring budgets—still nurtures musicians and musical styles that fall outside corporate labels' definition of popular tastes. Although their slice of total record sales is just a sliver, these independent labels account for a large share of the diversity and excitement in today's music.

But the future of many of these labels is in peril. Even though their production costs, promotion expenses and expectations of profits are slight when compared to the big record companies (15,000 in sales is considered a hit among small labels), some of them cannot sell enough records to stay in business. Most of the labels spawned by the new wave movement in rock'n'roll

have already bitten the dust and even two of the most solvent and established independent labels—Flying Fish and Alligator—wound up in the red last year.

Besides the recession—which has hit the record industry particularly hard because so many young record buyers are out of work—and steep interest rates that dry up capital and force some record stores to trim their stock, independent labels are also suffering from recent changes in radio programming. More and more stations depend on marketing consultants who typically suggest tapering playlists to target advertiser-favored audiences.

Mindy Giles of Alligator Records, a Chicago label that specializes in blues and reggae, noted that four years ago the label's releases were regularly played on over 100 commercial stations. Now the figure is 12. Flying

founded the label in 1971. Now there are three.

"Today it would be absolutely impossible to start a record company the way I did," he said. "I recorded a musician (blues guitarist Hound Dog Taylor) because I liked his music. I put 900 copies of the record in my car and drove to Detroit where I

hung on for four years.

"We get no commercial air-play. Most of our records have been relative bombs. Our stuff gets overlooked because the bands are from the Midwest. And I have yet to make any money on it," said Peter Jespersen, one of Twin Tone's three owners. "But we have got some attention for the music we think is good."

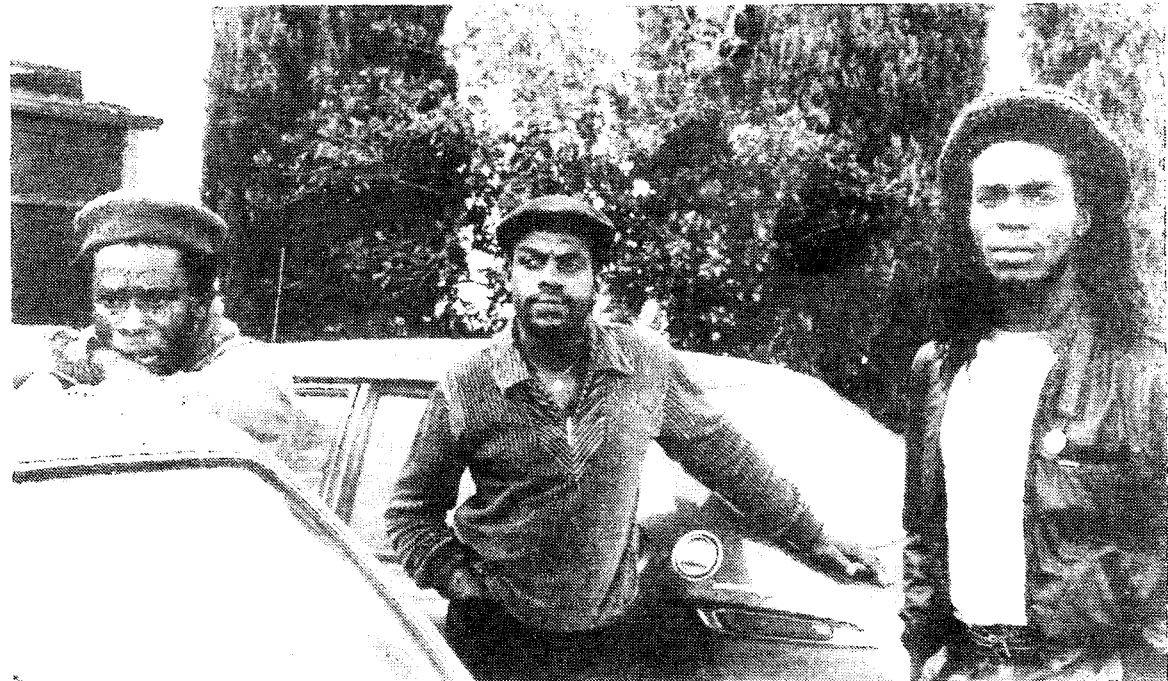
This kind of determination has earned some independent labels a loyal grassroots following. "We have people out there who know Alligator Records and trust us," Giles said. "They watch what we are doing." For a

ous mainstream pop. The label's problems are also compounded by the narrowing focus of many of the records stores.

"I sell half my records abroad these days," Strachwitz says. "Most stores are only geared to what turns over quickly—rock and schlock."

Flying Fish, another of the more prominent independents, is famous for its wildly eclectic tastes. Its recent releases include records by the Klezmorim and Kapalye, two bands that play a jazzy style of Yiddish dance music; the Mandingo Griot Society, a blend of tradi-

Right, the Jamaican reggae band The Mighty Diamonds; below, the Mandingo Griot Society, which blends African music with modern jazz.



Fish, another Chicago label with a catalogue encompassing everything from bluegrass to rhythm and blues, has only six commercial stations that frequently play their records.

"Stations are just interested in a lowest common denominator kind of music," said Flying Fish's Bruce Kaplan. "If they play an offbeat song and lose a tenth of a point in the ratings, then they'll have to drop their ad rates 20 bucks a shot."

Small label releases are heard almost exclusively on college or public radio stations, both of which are particularly vulnerable to budget cuts handed down from Washington or state capitals. And the Reagan administration's hints that some public stations might want to reconsider their ad-free policies isn't reassuring to people involved with small labels.

Romance and grassroots.

Another obstacle is distribution. Independent labels rely on independent distributors, who usually service only the larger outlets and the number of independent distributors is on the decline. Alligator's Bruce Iglauer said there were eight in Chicago when he

stopped in at each of the four free-format radio stations, met the disc jockey and gave them a copy of the record. All four played it that night. Today, a consultant dictates what a dj can play. The next day I went to the local distributors and said four stations had played the record, so they took all the copies I had and put them in the stores."

Although the odds against a fledgling label are formidable, there are those still willing to start one. The romance of the music biz is part of the lure, along with a determination to open people's ears to new sounds. Twin Tone Records, a Minneapolis new wave label, has

little known or specialized artist, this word-of-mouth network can be more effective in garnering attention than being signed to a major label, where they are often lost in the shuffle.

Alligator Records, for instance, basks in the reputation of being the modern blues label. Its artists are not noted for just imitating the old masters but rather for forging their own sound, often borrowing from funk, soul and rock'n'roll. Last year they nabbed four of the five Grammy award nominations in the ethnic/traditional category (although MCA's B.B. King won) and their roster includes some of the most prominent blues players making the rounds today—Albert Collins, Koko Taylor, Son Seals and Lonnie Brooks.

In much the same way, Arhoolie Records of El Cerrito, Calif., has managed to hang on by establishing itself as the premier purveyor of regional music. Cajun music, Tex-Mex and blues are the label's main fare, although they also feature jazz, Hawaiian and Jewish music. But according to Chris Strachwitz, Arhoolie's founder and only full-time employee, it's getting harder to find distinct regional artists today because fewer of them can make a living playing anything but homogen-

tional African music and modern jazz; and John Hartford, bluegrass' answer to the Dadaists. A collection of liberation songs from an exiled Salvadoran group is in the works, and the label carries several other musicians who stress political concerns, including Si Kahn and Sweet Honey in the Rock.

"Interest in politically oriented music seems to be increasing as a general reaction to what's going on," Kaplan noted. "But I think a political message has got to have good music behind it. A lot of junk has always been pushed under the label of being political."

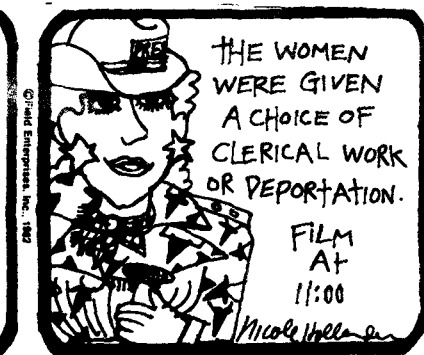
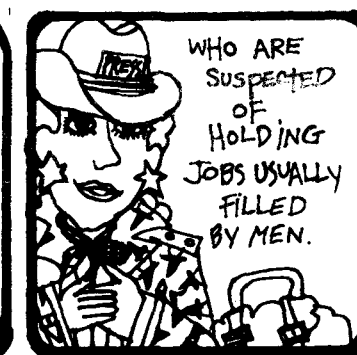
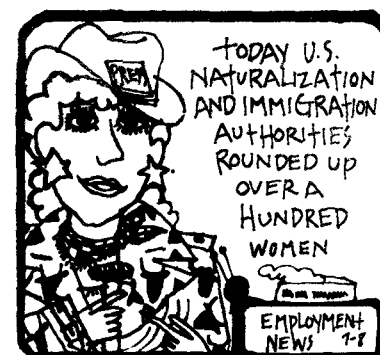
"Much of what is called folk music has political implications," he said, "because it is put out by a certain community to meet its needs rather than being pressed upon them from the outside."

Iglauer also sees a new political mood erupting in music, at least in the blues. "The concerns and attitudes of a black in Mississippi in 1940 are not the same as a black in Chicago in 1982," he said. "The blues today are a lot more about living and working in the city, the third world and Reaganomics."

Jay Walljasper's writing on music has appeared in a variety of Midwestern publications.

Sylvia

by Nicole Hollander



Two photographers on work and industrial themes.

Two recent photographic exhibitions that focus on workers and work use dramatically different approaches, which reflect sharply differing intentions and audiences.

Lee Friedlander's most recent photographs—exhibited this spring in New York, scheduled to tour at San Francisco and Baltimore museums and also published in a collection, *Factory Valleys* (Calloway Editions)—focus on the destructive effects of industrialism on land, dwellings, work places and workers.

In most of his 61 prints a wintry darkness fills the air of Ohio's and Pennsylvania's factory towns. Sooty blackness seems ingrained. When Friedlander shoots from a hill overlooking Johnstown, Penn., inhabited houses seem uninhabited. Trees in Cleveland yards look as barren as telephone poles, cranes and smokestacks. In industrial plants workers stand or sit alone, mute as machines. Life takes on a time-suspended solitude.

Art world patrons have admired Friedlander's photography ever since James Thrall Soby singled him out in 1960 in *Art in*



Lee Friedlander

By Daniel Newman

Testimony of the Camera

Earl Dotter

America. Such trend-setting directors as John Szarkowski at the Museum of Modern Art have cultivated him since his first show there (with Gary Winogrand and Diane Arbus) in 1967.

Today such art-world writers as Leslie George Katz, who provides an afterword in *Factory Valleys*, praise him for his formal and transcendent poetry. According to Katz, Friedlander creates visionary essences "prepared for in Bible, myth and prophecy." His art, Katz finds, is a

cultured triumph over American factories, ravaged nature and human solitude. "Meanwhile, in the year 1980 as before, the manufacturers and deprivation of man can be avenged by the justices of form."

These photos came about, Friedlander says, because John Coplans, Akron Art Institute director in 1979, suggested he photograph in the northern industrial belt. As an *ArtForum* editor in the mid '70s, Coplans developed a critical and speculative interest in photographic prints, then beginning to be treated as high art. Coplans, Friedlander says, "asked me to photograph using my own discretion and instincts." Coplans left Akron soon after the project began, but National Endowment for the Arts monies remained. John McCarter, board chairperson of the Central Bank of Akron, became Friedlander's patron, and he also left him to his own discretion and instincts.

This attitude is a world away from the social directives of '30s patrons. Compare it with Eric Hodgins, the *Fortune* editor who sent out Walker Evans and James Agee to create "a photographic and verbal record of the daily living of an 'average' or 'representative' family of white tenant farmers." Or to Roy Stryker, who sent out Lange, Mydans, Rothstein, Evans and Shahn because, in the words of Rexford Guy Tugwell, "it seemed important to record the incredible events of [the Depression]." For Tugwell, "it was not only a technical triumph, but a record of neglect and a warning. It can never happen again to so many in the same ways—partly because we have these reminders of what happened when we turned our backs on fellow citizens and allowed them to be ravaged."

The attitude of many documentary photographers today



sharply contrasts with the New Deal photographers, not only because they are unwilling to follow social directives, but also because they do their work for an art-educated, museum-going class. Stryker's photographs sought a national audience through newspapers, government reports and exhibits and in such mass market books as *Land of the Free* and *An American Exodus*. Friedlander's audience must pay \$25 even for the paperback version of *Factory Valleys*, but the publisher's half-hearted promotion makes the book hard

even to find. The real profit is in the limited special edition, a \$1,500 prestige item of a hundred signed by Friedlander.

Friedlander's photos have a prosaic uncanniness, a surrealism grounded in the ordinary, with visual puns, incongruous conjunctions and hidden figures. His work makes a variety of stylistic references—artfully nonchalant compositions that recall Walker Evans, ambiguous spaces that owe much to recent American painting and a concern with signs and roadside images that link him with American Pop



Lee Friedlander

painters. His art self-consciously refers to art.

But the photos also reveal another aspect of his work. Both the factory valleys and the workers appear as places or people who have been passed by. They are caught as if they were from a world long gone. They are fixed by Friedlander's camera, their bodies drained of laboring energy.

Compare Friedlander's passive workers with Dorothea Lange's tough and resilient bodies—Filipinos cutting lettuce in Salinas, Calif., 1935, and her "Couple with Cow," Ireland, 1954. Or with Eugene W. Smith's exuberant muscular figures, steelworkers or inmates playing volleyball at the Ohio penitentiary.

Friedlander's camera confronts workers who stand masked and alone as in Walker Evans' sharecropper images. But Friedlander's "snapshots" are darker than Evans', with overtones of a resigned hopelessness.

In Friedlander's early work, the body's elastic and weighty pressure is felt—in New Orleans street dancers, in old time jazzmen and women. Having worked with Friedlander in 1968 documenting Iroquois in Canada, I know how he caught the energy of Mary Skye's old hands braiding corn, and Jacob Thomas carving a false face in a live basswood. But these factory workers have lost this transforming energy. They face his camera as if they were hidden parts of himself he has tried to reject, but whose existence he must acknowledge.

Friedlander's aesthetic documentary is a self-portrait. What cries out is not the forgotten people who need to have their pictures taken but rather Friedlander's need to picture a forgotten part of himself he finds in others.

Raised in Washington state in a working and farming family, graduated from a vocational-technical high school, he learned to use photography for personal expression and for geographic and social mobility. His estrangement from his past, his lonely and distanced view of reality makes his vision peculiarly suitable for art patrons who prize artists creating art that is largely about itself and that celebrates its own alienation.

The workers in Earl Dotter's photographs, recently exhibited at the Hospital and Health Care Workers Union Gallery 1199 in New York, make a striking contrast to Friedlander's distanced laborers. They appear to come forward to us, meeting our questions and assertions.

Dotter carries on the advocate-photographer tradition of Lewis Hine. Just as Hine worked for the National Child Labor Committee, Dotter is staff photographer for the American Labor Education Center (see sidebar).

His images show workers under immediate and critical strain—"Miner Setting Temporary Roof Supports," for example. The man's burly power, his body's twisting thrust, jutting jaw and clenched teeth incarnate Marx's description in *Capital* of the worker who "opposes himself to nature as one of her own forces, setting in motion...the natural forces of his body, in order to appropriate nature's productions in a form adapted to his own wants."

Dotter locates the marks of a worker's experience and conditions. In "Coal Miner," for instance, the grime on his face is the smudged mark of labor. The dust filling the pores and wrinkles

under his eyes, cheeks and neck tell us where he has been. Light and shadow speak directly about the physical and social environment of labor. There are the dark recesses of the room behind a man choking his last years away, and the grey light in the leafy trees outside his window. There are the weighty blacks of coal in the pits and in coal cars, and the somber, shadowy eyes of the defiant, the disabled and the grief-stricken.

Dotter's prints, composed with great care, avoid the calculated appearance of Friedlander's scenes in which our eyes move down formalized pathways, finding spatial ambiguities that make us question where the action is. In Dotter's photos our eyes are drawn directly to the center of significant action, in a way similar to the narrative compositions of Dorothea Lange and W. Eugene Smith.

The photos speak clearly, part-



Earl Dotter



Earl Dotter

"I want to give back their welcome to me."

When Earl Dotter was 19, he worked rotating shifts in an overheated and airless Gallo winery in Modesto, Calif. It had a lasting effect on his awareness of labor realities. But it was Martin Luther King's murder four years later, the turmoil in the cities and the Vietnam war that changed Earl Dotter from a promising young graphic designer and photographer, published by Milton Glaser and *New York* magazine while still a student at the School of Visual Arts, to a Vista volunteer and photographer involved with dissident miners in the Cumberland Plateau region of Tennessee.

Now, 10 years after he began to use his photographic skills, Earl Dotter works as the staff photographer for the American Labor Education Center in Washington, D.C., a non-profit media group that produces visual and documentary material on workplace health and safety. His exhibition "American Labor" will tour with the support of local

unions in Florida. His book on dancers, *Off Balance: An Unromantic Look at the Lives and Jobs of Corps Ballet Dancers*, co-authored by Suzanne Gordon, is to be published in Spring 1983 by Pantheon.

What is your fundamental photographic aim?

As my main interest in the workplace, I seek out those workers who are trying to improve their circumstances, workers who have a sense of their own worth, and project a sense of human dignity. I want to encourage these attitudes by giving them the recognition due them.

What problems do you have in photographing American workers?

Working people in particular are sensitive to a hostile press, and anybody with a camera is very often grouped in that category. I have to overcome the predisposition that says I am not an ally, and also their tendency to react superficially by

smiling and mugging as if posing for a snapshot. Visits to their homes are essential to let them know what I'm doing. When they understand the larger purposes involved, they know much better how to present themselves as they really are to the camera.

He also puts images in series and juxtaposes them strategically. Three photos of tree cutters in Cowlitz County, Wash., together they capture the essential action of felling a monumental tree. Dotter focuses on the decisive moments in the workplace, but not without depicting moments of rest and small talk. The workers' lives and identities go beyond the constraints of the workplace.

In the exhibit a portrait of an anorexic dancer was placed next to a portrait of a UPS delivery man. As the accompanying text made clear, dancers labor under extremely exploitative conditions. Dancers may spend up to \$75,000 on their education and

yet work in the corps de ballet for an average of \$12,000 per year, with 12-hour days, six days a week. Many have pathetically short work-life with "careers" over by their early 30s. In Dotter's photos they are seen not as ethereal artists, but as abused bodies.

There are no single heroic images. But there are photos where Dotter concentrates all that engages him—what angers him about unemployment, disability, occupational hazard and disease. Most haunting are the funerals depicted in "Her Husband Survived Vietnam to Die in a Coal Mine, Scotia Mine Disaster, Letcher Co., Ky.," the union activists in the J.P. Stevens mill; the cotton bale opening room worker; the loom tender; and most poignantly, those who have suffered—the bedridden blacklung and brown-lung victims.

Dotter captures the double aspect of what he sees—individual pride mixed with shame, common struggle with loss. His work links him with his subjects. He knows that what diminishes or empowers them, diminishes or empowers him.

Daniel Newman chairs the visual arts department at Rutgers University.

most my audience is working people. I am welcomed into their homes and communities. I want to give back to them the kind of welcome they've given me. Photographs may not take something tangible from my subjects, but they very much give of their time and of themselves. Most of my work ends up in the labor press.

Do you make much use of your art school training?

I use my graphic design training to bring clear attention to the subject matter without distraction—to not having anything visually superfluous get in the way of seeing the meaning.

Have you gone on doing your own art work?

I feel I am doing, through my work, exactly what I want to do personally. Many artists and photographers have to think of their personal work as separate from their income-producing work. I don't feel that kind of separation. What personally moves and angers me is the sense of loss and the tragedy of mine fatalities that needlessly occur, or the laws in Mississippi that make it easy to exploit children on the farm.

What audience do you want to reach?

Although I want to reach a wide audience, first and fore-

most my audience is working people. I am welcomed into their homes and communities. I want to give back to them the kind of welcome they've given me. Photographs may not take something tangible from my subjects, but they very much give of their time and of themselves. Most of my work ends up in the labor press.

What are you focusing on now?

I am very much interested in the automated workplace that clerical workers are having to adjust to now. It is an extremely difficult visual subject. It has aspects of the commonplace within it, that everyone sees from day to day. But the stresses of the new technology haven't been adequately explored in photography. There are also the new immigrants, now that their management initiated role as strike-breakers is reasserting itself.

What is your central concern today?

It was said of Lewis Hine that he was a master of showing that it was society's loss when individuals couldn't reach their full potential. I try to project that today. We all lose when an individual or groups of workers do not have the opportunity to reach their highest level.

—D.N.

Litton

Continued from page 6

beginning "WE WILL NOT threaten you with discharge, physical violence, plant closure or unspecified reprisals because you join or support the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers."

Litton management says there is nothing unusual about its labor relations record. In response to an inquiry from Rep. Phillip Burton (D-Calif.) of the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, Litton corporate vice-president for industrial relations M.J. Diederich said that "relationships are generally satisfactory to the unions, as evidenced by a very low incidence of strikes.... While there have been Board cases, in very few has there ever been a final decision finding a Litton division guilty of any substantial violation of the National Labor Relations Act."

Union officials agree that relations are normal in some shops, but they believe there is a centrally directed pattern of union-busting. They also contend Litton has found lawbreaking pays. After blocking unionizing drives, they say, Litton stalls the NLRB complaint process as long as possible, and finally settles the complaints for a few thousand dollars after the union has lost the election. (Diederich said to the *Minneapolis Tribune*, "It's a fact of life that there is time involved in pursuing the procedure." He did not return *In These Times*' calls.)

If a union wins an election anyway, Litton may simply refuse to bargain, as it did at Landis Tool where it took the Teamsters five years to get their first contract. Or it may close the plant and move the jobs to Europe, as it did with its Royal Typewriter plant in Springfield, Mo. It has closed plants before a first contract was even negotiated, and it has moved work from union shops to runaway shops in the South and in right-to-work states. Litton has begun decertification campaigns at some union locations, and has helped set up company unions in others.

Do Litton's acts constitute a deliberate campaign? The Indiana regional director of the NLRB thought so. He took the unusual step of trying to block a settlement at the Triad-Utrad plant, apparently because he believed Litton was exploiting the NLRB system by repeatedly violating and settling. He wrote that "The Respondent, a subsidiary of Litton Industries, has displayed a continuing disposition to engage in substantial unfair labor practices." The company "engaged in substantial proven and/or alleged violations of the Act each time it had been faced with union organizational campaigns, to wit: in 1964, 1969, 1975, 1978 and 1980." Charles Craypo, a Notre Dame economics professor, in a 45-page study found that "a pattern of aggressive, anti-union behavior pervades Litton Industries, that such behavior often entails illegal acts, and that the pattern appears to emanate from the parent company." (This emanation often seems to take the form of M.J. Diederich himself, who went to Sioux Falls for the union election campaign, and who is often away

from Litton's Beverly Hills headquarters participating in local negotiation and arbitration all over the country.) Craypo pointed out that the multi-industry company has greater financial leverage and administrative range than a union whose operations are limited to a single plant or industry.

Unions affected by Litton are beginning to put together an unprecedented multi-union "corporate" campaign to make Litton change its ways. Last fall the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department held a conference in Columbus, Ohio, to discuss the Litton problem. Since then several of the unions have assigned a full-time organizer to coordinate Litton actions, and they are also forming a multi-union organizing committee. They are looking for support from churches and community groups.

Several unions organized a demonstra-



tion at Litton Microwave's Plymouth facility in a Minneapolis suburb in April, and 750 people turned out for a demonstration at Litton's Beverly Hills headquarters in connection with the Coalition of Labor Union Women's (CLUW) annual meeting in Los Angeles. CLUW's executive board also adopted five resolutions in support of the national Litton campaign, including one calling for legislation that would prevent repeat labor law violators from bidding for or obtaining federal contracts.

With its love of defense and space contracts, Litton would be vulnerable to such legislation, and the fact that some members of Congress are already suspicious of Litton because of its shipbuilding fiasco increases the campaign's chances. Highlighting waste and fraud in defense procurement will also be part of the campaign, with the slogan "Litton broke the law."

Community as hostage.

A boycott is impossible, Ron Carver, field organizer for United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE) told *In These Times*, because so little of Litton's business is in direct consumer products. Besides, a boycott would only hurt union members by giving Litton a justification for layoffs and plant closings. Instead Carver hopes whole communities can call attention to damage done by irresponsible plant closings and runaway shops. Carver imagines everything from church-sponsored stockholder resolutions to floats in Fourth of July parades.

"Major corporations hold the economic well-being of our communities hostage," Carver said, "and they have no sense of a social contract. They see themselves as above the law." He hopes public pressure will bring Litton to negotiate more seriously with its employees, and will ultimately lead to federal legislation controlling runaway shops. But he also knows no such legislation would pass today. The Litton campaign must think in terms of years, not months.

Could Litton opponents link up with the freeze movement and other peace groups? After all, besides its Navy work, Litton makes guidance systems for the MX and Cruise missiles. But AFL-CIO spokesman Dan Cohen told *In These Times*, "The defense issue is not on the table now." American labor has traditionally been hawkish, and it is hard for union leaders to take a political position that could endanger members' jobs. Unions such as the UE and the Machinists would have no problem with a movement that questioned defense expenditures, but other unions would, and the campaign needs to preserve its base in bread-and-butter labor issues. "If it comes up, it comes up, but we're not going to push the issue," Carver said.

Still, the AFL-CIO executive council last February hedged its support of defense spending for the first time ever,

warning that Reagan's destruction of social programs to pay for weapons "risks creating new anti-defense constituencies among working Americans."

Carver stresses community issues, and one of his favorite examples these days is Litton's Microwave Cooking Products division in Minneapolis. Litton got an early start in the microwave oven business, partly because of expertise acquired making microwave radar units on defense contracts. According to a series of Harvard Business School case studies on Litton Microwave, the division experienced phenomenal growth almost from its beginning in the late '60s. The case study calls it a "profit center" for the corporation during its troubles with the Navy. The Harvard report notes no difficulty with the unionized hourly work force. The Microwave division's biggest problem was coping with growth, particularly at the middle management and supervisory levels. Labor cost was a very low 5 percent of each oven.

In spite of this, Litton moved its consumer oven assembly operations from Minneapolis to Sioux Falls in 1976, and recently moved half the commercial oven assembly there as well. Wages for the predominantly female assembly workers in right-to-work South Dakota average about \$4.40 an hour, compared with \$6.80 under the UE contract in Minneapolis. Litton cites the threat of Japanese competition to explain the move, but Carver and others call it greed, pointing out a company moved a new, profitable facility and damaged a community in order to break a union and to raise its profit by a small amount.

UE local 1139 in Minneapolis, down from a peak of 1,500 workers to about 300, is trying to survive by helping to organize the South Dakota plant. After a bitter struggle with the usual NLRB complaints, the UE won an election there in 1980, but it has yet to get its first contract.

After the election, Litton retracted salary increases and made apparently puni-

itive changes in working conditions. Employees claim Litton is refusing to bargain, and that they are subject to abusive remarks such as "What are you crying about? You used to work at McDonalds!" during bargaining sessions. The NLRB has issued a complaint, and hearings are pending.

Local 1139 back in Minneapolis has also filed charges with the NLRB, and the NLRB regional director has issued a complaint charging that Litton Microwave refused to negotiate the transfer of work to South Dakota and to give the union necessary information. He has suggested the breathtaking remedy of moving all the lost jobs back to Minneapolis. That case is still pending. (One thing Carver hopes the campaign will achieve is to improve the "slow and understaffed" NLRB, and get the agency to consider the entire record of a large corporation in weighing individual complaints.)

The company tried to have the UE decertified on grounds that it had contributed to a fund for the wives and children of striking PATCO air controllers, and it has been refusing to process grievances under the contract, or to implement arbitrator's awards. According to local UE leadership, "You have to take them to court for everything. They're just trying to wreck the union."

So far, UE local 1139 is still fighting for its life and its members' jobs. A recent meeting there showed how promising the Litton campaign might be. An organizer's dream and a feast of acronyms, it was presided over by Ron Carver in a blazer and tie, and Rocky DeMaio, the local business agent whose mustache, black nylon jacket and solid physique might have won him a part in *On the Waterfront*. Joining several UE members around the large table were Scott Sommer, a coordinator for the INFACI Nestle boycott and Maryanne Christianson from CLUW. Peace activist Mary Davydov from the Honeywell Campaign was sporting a battered cowboy hat. The UE and the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) have been rivals ever since the UE was expelled from the CIO during the McCarthy era, but George Hallberg, an international representative from IUE, came to talk cooperation. There were representatives from the Machinists, the Steelworkers, the UAW and the Minnesota Education Association. Community groups such as the Coalition for Affordable Housing and the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) sent people and some students from University Community Video came out to tape the meeting.

Out the front window, past a Taco John's sign, you could see the huge SOO Line rail yards and the grain elevators that made the base for this area of breweries, cereal plants and machine shops. Behind local 1139's offices were the neatly trimmed lawns, shade trees, and modest but immaculate houses of "Northeast," Minneapolis' blue-collar, ethnic, family-oriented neighborhood.

It's the survival of neighborhoods like this one that people had come to discuss. With this diversity of people, styles, organizations and issues around the table, just about anything might end up "on the table."

Charles Sugnet teaches English at the University of Minnesota.

CALENDAR

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July 17

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Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party-National Office
1623 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., NE
Washington, DC 20002

C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSA-Democratic Socialists of America (formerly DSOC/NAM)
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003
3244 N. Clark Street
Chicago, IL 60657

29 29th Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
2000 P Street, NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

New Patriot Alliance/DSOL
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Socialist Party
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Hawaii

Continued from page 17
health, should be handled on a federal level to avoid political and economic pressures from state interests and private

interests."

Creamer concludes her article, "But the fact remains that no one really knows what heptachlor does to babies. Unborn or not. And whether the pesticide their mother ingested—it's been linked to kidney and liver damage in humans and cancer in laboratory rats—will

give them cancer when they're 10.

"Or kidney failure when they're 20....

"But I'm still trying not to overreact, not to become hysterical about this. I'm trying to believe that the doctors who say the heptachlor will wash out of our bodies and our babies' bodies, causing no harm, really know what they are talk-

ing about....

"But I can't help being haunted by the memory of thalidomide and DES...most of all I'm trying to believe that my baby is all right."

Jeanette Foster, in addition to being an investigative reporter, is the news director at two Maui Radio Stations.

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Sid Resnick, "The Devil's Theory of Zionism in the USSR," Gerald Stillman, "Polling American Anti-Semitism." Single copy \$1.50. Subscription \$10 USA, Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., NYC 10003.

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Rainer Werner Fassbinder knew how to hate. The still-murky details surrounding the death of the 36-year-old German filmmaker last month in Munich suggest that some of his anger was directed, finally, at himself. Yet it was this same capacity to rage that had helped make Fassbinder one of the most gifted and most furiously productive filmmakers of his generation. Along with Werner Herzog, Alexander Kluge, Wim Wenders and others, Fassbinder helped put German cinema on the map for the first time in more than 40 years. If the "New German cinema" is the heir of Lang, Murnau and Pabst, this is due largely

By Paul Thomas

to Fassbinder's efforts.

He first came to the attention of a startled U.S. audience with a set of international successes made on a shoestring—*The Merchant of the Four Seasons* (1971), *The Bitter Tears of Petra von Kant* (1971-72) and the 1972 *Ali: Fear Eats the Soul* (these are among the eight Fassbinder films premiered in the U.S. at New York Film Festivals). By the time of his death, Fassbinder was becoming very successful indeed.

His adaptation of Vladimir Nabokov's novel *Invitation to a Beheading* was an expensive international production financed in part by tax shelter money. *Lili Marleen*, scarcely one of his better films, was distributed in the

Photograph of
Rainer Werner Fassbinder
by Maureen Lambray

U.S. by United Artists. And *The Marriage of Maria Braun* grossed as much at the West German box office as *Star Wars*—not bad going for a director whose first film, *Katzelmacher*, was shot in three days on the proceeds of advance sales to TV. The immense success of *Maria Braun*, which was quite widely shown in the U.S., is the more surprising if we consider how politically uncompromising and (for a West German audience) how unsettling the film was.

The camera is political.

Fassbinder was the first to insist that he didn't make films that weren't political. Fassbinder described his films as "investigations into German actualities...the oppression of a middle-class office worker [as in his brilliant *Why Does Herr R. Run Amok?*], our own political situation as filmmakers [*Beware the Holy Whore*]." The sequence of stills at the end of *Maria Braun* make it a kind of psycho-history of West Germany from Adenauer through Erhardt to Schmidt. Fassbinder's last completed feature, *Lola*, bears the subtitle "BRD [Bundesrepublik Deutschland] III," that is, Part III of the project for which *Maria Braun* had been Part I.

Fassbinder's aesthetics were remote both from cardboard "socialist realism" and from the heroism of the struggling masses, as mythologized by Eisenstein and others. He was uninterested in heroism or greatness. Of all his many films, only *Effi Briest*, *Petra von Kant*, *Despair*, *Maria Braun* and *Lili Marleen* even portray characters who are successful in society—and all these pay a heavy price for the success they evidently fail to

enjoy. (The intended parallel is with West German society.) Fassbinder, who took the idea for his film *Fear of Fear* from a 35-year-old housewife, concentrated on the unexceptional, the everyday.

His subjects were usually ordinary people undergoing extraordinary, yet everyday, stresses and strains—people condemned to a foreclosed existence by the vagaries of what once was known as the West German "economic miracle." The recurrent protagonist of Fassbinder's earlier films was the dumpy, overweight, unattractive and none-too-articulate. Fassbinder often played the role himself, most tellingly in *Fox and His Friends*. These are the people who inhabit the dark underside of West German society, whose everyday problems gave Fassbinder his themes—foreign workers (*Katzelmacher*; *Ali: Fear Eats the Soul*); family life and juvenile delinquency (*Wildwechsel*); consumerism (*I Only Want You to Love Me*); terrorism (*Third Generation*); the workaday world (*Merchant of the Four Seasons*); and sexual politics (*Martha*; *In a Year with 13 Moons*; *Fox*; *Petra von Kant*).

At the end of *Beware the Holy Whore* the screen quotes Thomas Mann: "...I am sick of portraying humanity without partaking of humanity." Fassbinder's way of partaking of humanity was to bal-

ance his compassion for his characters against his conviction that "people who are brought up to be useful, with their heads full of manipulated dreams, are always screwed up." Believing that in such a world, "madness is a sign of hope," Fassbinder populated his films with minds at the end of their tether, stretched sometimes to breaking point. He used madness and melodrama unashamedly to point up his theme of the desperation of the everyday.

"I don't want to create realism the way it's usually done in films," he once said to a critic. "It's a collision between film and the unconscious that creates a new realism...in the head [of the spectator], which changes the social reality." Fassbinder appropriated melodrama in order to "change people's heads"—to appeal to the audience's expectations while simultaneously subverting them. In this way he proposed to call into question the usual pattern of response to a film and to the structures of social and political domination that he believed were usually reaffirmed by conventional narrative.

His films were a constant provocation in theme and in content. He wanted above all to stretch reality at its seams, because he felt reality needs such a stretching. Fassbinder loved the role of *enfant terri-*

ble, and played it to the hilt. He loved to offend and outrage, to turn over stones, to embroil himself in controversy, and his world was never short of targets. *Fox* offended gays, *Petra* outraged lesbians. *Mother Kuster's Trip to Heaven* pilloried communists and student radicals, and *Third Generation* (with its *literal* guerrilla theater) does much the same to the terrorist left. In 1976 Fassbinder (in a play) touched the raw nerve of West Germany's current Jewish question, just when a statute of limitations on Nazi war crimes was before the legislature.

The scope of his earlier films, all of them dirt cheap by Hollywood standards, is prodigious, particularly when we consider that during the '70s, as he was making them, Fassbinder also made frequent forays into theater, video and TV. He could keep up this dizzying pace only by working (as other New German directors also work) with dependable production teams. The same names and faces crop up again and again in Fassbinder's films. Hanna Schygulla is seemingly ubiquitous.

This group, which emerged from the Munich Anti-Theater, a Marxist collective of actors and technicians, most resembled a medieval troupe with workers' control thrown in. Its membership

Continued on page 18